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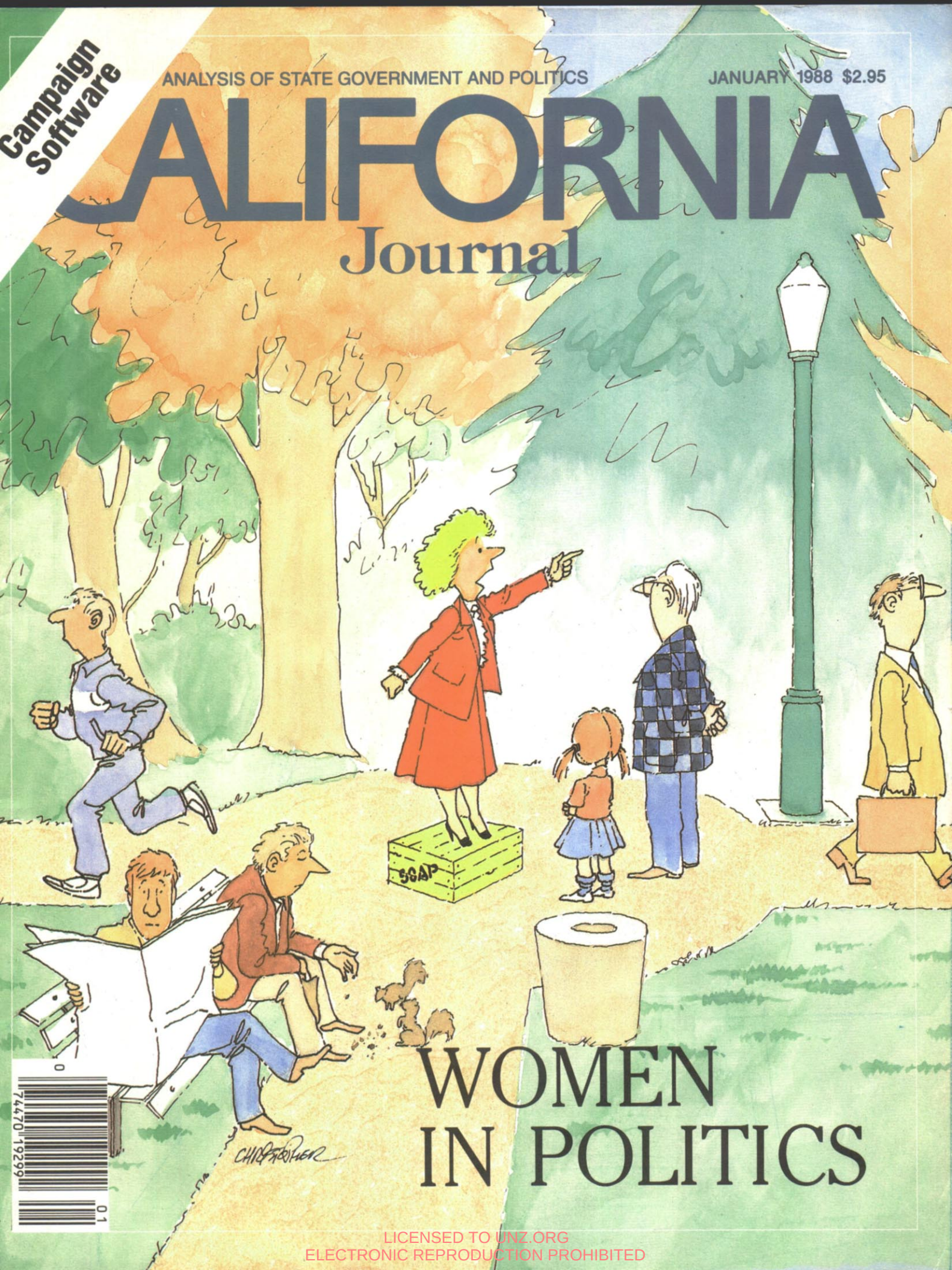

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CALIFORNIA Journal

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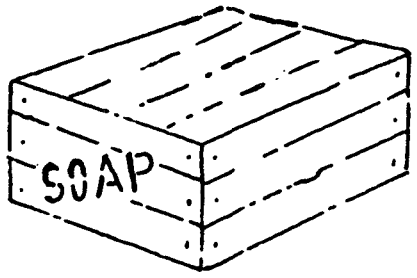

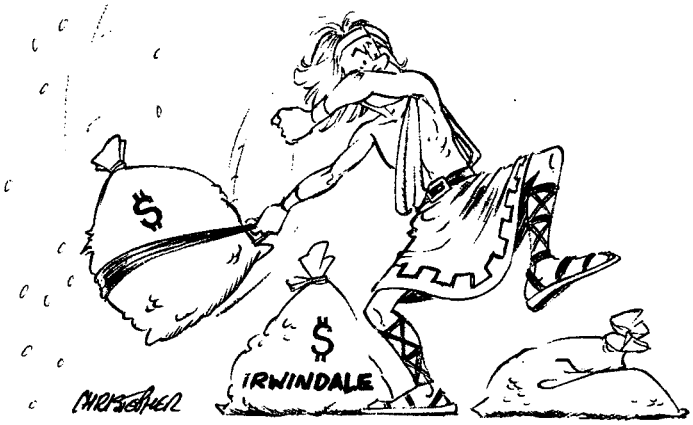

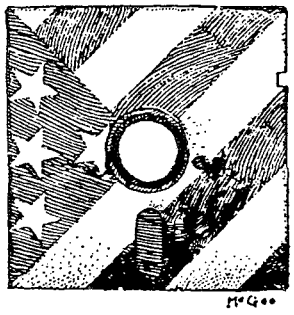

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UP FRONT

Ken Maddy is a touch grumpy these days. The Senate Republican leader finished second in the sweepstakes to replace the late Jesse Unruh as state treasurer, losing out to Dan Lungren of Long Beach. Maddy isn't necessarily grumpy that he lost. Disappointed perhaps, but not grumpy. He is miffed, however, over a statement that Deukmejian made at the press conference announcing Lungren's appointment. In response to a question, the governor said that Maddy's admitted past use of marijuana had been a factor in the selection process for treasurer. Maddy insists it wasn't a factor. Maddy says the perceived inability of Republicans to retain his Senate seat should he become treasurer also was not the reason he finished second.

So, why did he lose out?

Age, he says. Maddy is 53; Lungren, 41. Maddy says Deukmejian wanted to appoint someone who would run for a full term as treasurer in 1990, then be available as the GOP's prime gubernatorial candidate in 1994. By then, Maddy will be 60 and Lungren but 46. If Maddy's theory holds, the governor considered Lungren a more attractive standard-bearer for the Republican Party once the Duke decides to step aside.

For want of a proofreader, two Republican lawmakers recently sent out embarrassing and sloppily written pieces of literature. Congressman Robert Dornan of Garden Grove mailed constituents a warning about the activities of drug kingpins in "Columbia." We assume he meant the South American country of "Colombia," although it was spelled "Columbia" seven times in a one-page letter. Maybe he meant drug kingpins in the District of Columbia? Or, on the Columbia River? On Cape Columbia, Canada? Columbia Heights, a section of Minneapolis?

The second letter was worse — a four-page fund-raising appeal from Senator Pete Wilson under the letterhead of the "Republicans for Young Republicans." Wilson's letter contains no fewer than nine misspellings, typos and misused words. "Tomorrow" is twice spelled "tomarrow;" "develop" is spelled "develope;" "privileges" is spelled "privilages;" "apathetic" is given an extra "p;" "extingtion" is used instead of "extinction, "capters" instead of "chapters," "their" instead of "there" (or "theirs" — it's impossible to tell from the context which word is correct).

The appeal concludes: "California Young Republicans ... are working every day, sometimes long hours in the hot sun, to elect more Republicans to office ..."

Perhaps one or two of those Young Republicans ought to join the senator for a few refresher courses in grammar school. Or, as Senator Wilson might write, "skool."

Governor George Deukmejian finally ended the biggest guessing game in town last month when he said that his hometown congressman, Dan Lungren, was his choice to be the next state treasurer. The early line has Lungren being confirmed, although there may be some questions about his refusal to vote for payments to Japanese interred in prison camps during World War II, and about his very conservative fiscal beliefs. Still unresolved is the question of just how the confirmation process works. The governor's office insists that Lungren has to be voted down by both the Assembly and Senate in order to be dumped, while the attorney general's office opines that failure to win confirmation in either house is enough to block the nomination.

Spread thin. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown has added one more hat to his wardrobe. He's Jesse Jackson's new campaign chairman in Jackson's bid for the presidency. Jackson's people are reportedly impressed by Brown's abilities as a money raiser. You'll recall that Jackson is really Willie's second choice, but the first choice — New York Governor Mario Cuomo — keeps saying, over and over, that he's not a candidate. Willie denies all the speculation that he's only backing Jackson because he wants to be the power broker who can throw a brokered convention to Cuomo. He also denies that his national involvement is a sign that he's getting tired of California politics and will leave the speakership before long. But it's hard to believe that Willie doesn't remember that the downfall of previous legislative leaders from both parties resulted when their attention was diverted from their principle task: namely, getting members of their own caucus reelected. Willie insists he hasn't forgotten. But there are limits to how much money even Willie can raise. Someone, either Jackson or the Assembly Democrats, is going to get the short end of the stick. With reapportionment only two elections away, and Democrats holding only 44 Assembly seats, at least some members of the Democratic caucus have to be a little concerned they might draw the short straw.

Did Pat Nolan blink? Lungren's possible departure has already set off a scramble for his congressional seat. At first there was the prospect of the most wonderful, muckiest, dirtiest primary in a long time, with Assemblymen Jerry Felando and Dennis Brown pitted against one another and the Assembly's Republican caucus split down the middle. Some in the caucus are guessing that Felando told Minority Leader Pat Nolan, who already has some dissenters within his caucus, that he and his friends would topple Nolan if he didn't get Brown to back out. For whatever reason, Brown backed out and was made caucus chairman, replacing Felando. Felando, by the way, has no free ride. He still may face Orange County Supervisor Harriet Wieder, who is a feisty campaigner herself.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

"Actually, (man) is a late comer, and there are moments when he shows every sign of being an early leaver — a patron who bows out after a few gaudy and memorable scenes."
— E.B. White

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ROSTRUM

The recycling law

The *Journal*'s recent article on California's new Beverage Container Recycling and Litter Reduction Act was incomplete and in some instances, inaccurate (see "The one-cent solution," *CJ*, November 1987). You did not seem to understand the program or its participants and their responsibilities. I would have been happy to provide that information had I been contacted.

The article correctly points out that about one-fourth of the expected 2000 recycling centers were open on the first day of the program — October 1, 1987. However, you also stated that one month before the start of the program there were no centers established in major sections of various counties. This assumes that there should have been centers established prior to October 1st. The deadline was January 1, 1988 — not October 1, 1987. In addition, there is an existing recycling industry which has served consumers at more than 800 locations for many years.

Centers are opening daily; as of December 4 1987, there were 858 throughout the state. Every dealer in a zone unserved by January 1st will be fined $100 per day until a center is established, or dealers must take containers back into their stores. You were inaccurate when you wrote that if centers were not on-line by the first of the year, retailers would be "forced to set up their own centers."

You also reported that the process of setting up many of the centers had bogged down over such things as local zoning permits, landlord problems, the hiring of staff and last-minute negotiations between recyclers and retailers. Currently, less than 10 cities have experienced permitting problems. Nearly two months before the start of the program, virtually all of the major chains, covering 1895 stores, had signed contracts or letters of intent to contract with recyclers, a fact missing from the article. A $200 million recycling industry established by hundreds of separate companies does not happen overnight.

The article also indicates that consumers will pay deposits. In fact, consumers do not pay deposits under this law. Instead, distributors pay the one-cent redemption value into the recycling fund. The redemption value is then paid to the consumer by the recycler or processor, who is reimbursed by the

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state. Since the law depends on increasing the volume of recyclable materials to make recycling centers profitable, private recyclers will compete with each other for business by paying consumers scrap value over and above the minimum redemption value.

Although beverage and container manufacturers do not pay the redemption value into the recycling fund, they incur substantial costs for labeling containers. In addition, they must pay a processing fee to the recycling fund if the cost to recycle their containers is higher than the scrap value. This fee ensures that those industries take financial responsibility for the recycling of the containers they sell and the recycling of containers rather than dumping them into landfills.

Finally, the article indicates that the state is conducting a "scaled down version of the marketing campaign of the sort the Lottery used." It is not possible to compare the more than $40 million annual Lottery campaign with the potential $3 million available annually to us. Furthermore, our marketing funds did not become available until January and only on a quarterly basis. Our campaign is based on a strong, cooperative advertising program with private industry. To date, more than $2 million has been spent on the promotion by the soft drink, beverage container, retail and outdoor advertising industries. Much more has been committed.

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RANDALL M. WARD
Director
Department of Conservation

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Women in Politics

Moving in — Yes
Moving up — Maybe

By Richard Zeiger and Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

"Moving In. Moving Up."

That's the motto of an organization of California's elected women founded in 1974 when women, buoyed by the women's movement and riding the crest of post-Watergate reform, moved into the political arena in large numbers. There were two women in the California Legislature at the time.

Today 17 women serve in the California State Legislature. That number ranks California 30th among the states in the percentage of women holding legislative positions, on the low side for a state normally thought of as progressive and on the cutting edge of social change. There are two congresswomen from California, about the national average, and one woman who holds statewide elective office — Secretary of State March Fong Eu.

Below this level wait a substantial number of women elected officials. California ranks third, with 32.5 percent, in the percentage of women on county boards of supervisors, and seventh in the percentage of women on city councils. There is every evidence that these women are ready to "move up" through the political ranks, that other women are waiting to join them, and there is a growing number of women's organizations which are are ready to help them get there.

As more women hold public office and for longer terms, what will their impact be on the way California's government is run? Do they play the political game differently than their

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male counterparts? Will their participation bring about major changes in the state's political system?

There is, writes Katherine Kleeman of the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) at Rutgers University, growing evidence that women officeholders are different from the males they displace, "in the experiences women bring with them into office, the issues that they choose, the style of management they employ, the information networks they establish and the formal and informal systems they develop to encourage other women."

They are, of course, in general more concerned with "women's issues" — reproductive rights, equality in the workplace, child care, insurance reform, domestic relations. And Kleeman notes that the increased public attention to these issues "has paralleled the rise in women's political power."

The preparation of women for political careers seems to differ from that of men. Women more often spend significant time working in the vineyards of civic or party volunteerism before they run for higher office. (Although the election to the California Legislature of former staff members such as Jackie Speier and Bev Hansen indicates that, for women as well as for men, the legislative staff is becoming an important source of candidate recruitment.)

There is a perception that women in politics have had to work harder than their male counterparts to get to the same plateau. Congresswoman Constance Morella, a former Maryland state legislator, told the CAWP Forum for Women State Legislators: "Women have had to to work harder. There's no doubt that we've had to work hard to get there (and that means) we work hard when we're there."

In addition, women are more likely than men to come from a background of traditionally "female" jobs, such as teaching, social work and health care which, writes Kleeman, "expose women to perspectives, problems and needs which most men seldom encounter." And women bring those differing perspectives with them to public office.

But beyond that, many women in politics seem to have a different approach to power than some of their male colleagues.

A study by the Center for the American Women and Politics at Rutgers University shows that at all levels, far more women than men elected officials said that a concern over specific public policy issues was "very important" in their decisions to run for public office. Conversely, far fewer women say that the possibility of running for higher office was an important factor in their decision to run in the first place. The women politicians hasten to add that this concern with policy does not mean that they are unconcerned with power, but their motives for seeking it may be different.

Addressing a workshop on leadership at recent CAWP Forum for Women State Legislators, Congresswoman Maltilda Hansen of Wyoming put it this way: "Generally, speaking, the men will use issues to get power; the women will use power to address issues".

"Women are making a difference right now," said state Senator Marian Bergeson, a Newport Beach Republican. "We are seeing women who are really committed to policy development. They have commitment and sensitivity. They definitely are making a big difference in the state Legislature."

Women would like to think that this concern with policy is the right potion for a time in the state's history when the electorate is increasingly alienated from its government and the state Legislature, increasingly in the grasp of special interests, finds it more and more difficult to resolve knotty political disputes.

"We see a dwindling electorate. Does that mean someone running for office should target their message to the increasingly white, affluent voters and risk further alienating those who are less likely to vote? Or should they bring their message to more people? A lot of women's issues speak to things that have really been ignored. I'd like to think there's some hope in that," said Shireen Miles, lobbyist for California NOW.

But there is also evidence that the characteristics that give women strength as legislators — combined with a belief that the "old boy" network remains strong — may be keeping them from winning office in the first place. Although California's women legislators head some key policy-making committees, none is the head of a fiscal committee, and few, such as Democratic state Senator Diane Watson, of the Committee on Health, chair those coveted by members as fertile ground for raising campaign money.

None of California's women legislators has yet emerged as a political "queen-maker," able or willing to raise vast sums of money necessary to turn the course of legislative campaigns. Although some have raised substantial amounts of money, as a group they lag behind their male colleagues, and the money they do raise tends to be for their own campaigns rather than to support other candidates (see box on page 10).

They also do not have enough clout at the top of their respective caucuses, in most cases, to influence who will be anointed in early party primaries. And there is the lingering feeling that the "old boys' network" still flourishes when it comes to making these early choices. "There is still a much greater comfort level with your own sex," notes Republican state Senator Rebecca Morgan of Los Altos Hills.

Men still also control most of the money available for campaigns, and women candidates complain that women are poor contributors. In the Center for the American Women and Politics study, for example, women were much more likely than men to have said raising campaign money was a barrier to their getting started in politics.

The sheer size of politics in California works against women trying to break into the system. Getting elected to the state Legislature here requires expensive, professional campaigns that can appeal to hundreds of thousands of voters. It also requires almost full-time preoccupation with government and politics, often at the expense of family duties and time away from home. That is still difficult for many women to justify even in this "enlightened" age.

In addition, studies indicate that where the legislative stakes are greater and the office more powerful, women tend to find it more difficult to break in.

In New Hampshire — where 32.5 percent of the legislators are women — the job pays $100 per year with no per diem. Each of the 400 members of the House represents some 6500 people. It's a part-time job, and the prestige is not that great. It closely mirrors the traditional role of woman as civic volunteer. And women play it — and are "allowed" to play it by male politicians — because the stakes aren't too great and by the electorate comfortable with that role.

The job of California legislator is a high-status plum which, between salary and per diem pays more than $50,000 per year. Men — and women — are more eager to run for it, and incumbents are more reluctant to give it up to make room for "new blood".

Women trying to break into the system are most often cast in the role of challengers to incumbents, most of whom are male and most of whom are impossible to beat. In fact, according to figures given by Tracy Westin of the California

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Commission on Campaign Finance Reform, just to make sure they wouldn't get beat, incumbents in the California legislative races in 1986 outspent their challengers by 30:1 in the Assembly and 60:1 in the Senate.

California feminist groups are in the forefront of trying to change things in this state, and a half-dozen or so now exist around the state to provide money to women candidates. Women's groups or women officeholders, for example, provided some $8500 to the campaign of Lucille Roybal-Allard, the newest woman member of the state Assembly. That's more than the $7500 she got from male politicians and may represent something of a first in political campaigns.

There is one woman in the Legislature — Los Angeles Assemblywoman Maxine Waters — who has the position, experience and perhaps the temperament to be a major player. Waters is chairwoman of the Democratic caucus, a member of the Ways and Means Committee and a close advisor to Speaker Willie Brown. In fact, in the last election cycle Waters dispensed some $254,000 to other candidates. However, all but $16,700 of that largesse went to the candidacy of her own son, Ed Waters, who was running for an Assembly seat in Los Angeles County. The younger Waters lost to Republican Paul Zeltner. Part of the irony of this campaign is that the younger Waters advocated some political positions, particularly on the question of abortion, that are anathema to feminist groups.

Assemblywoman Gwen Moore, also a Los Angeles Democrat, expects more women will soon be involved heavily in campaign money-raising. "You've got to realize that we're just now getting into the positions to do these things, where we'll be at the table to discuss candidates," said Moore.

Nationally, the Women's Campaign Fund has already proved the impact of fund raising and "moving up" on women's success in running for higher office. According to Congresswoman Morella, all four newly elected congresswomen came from state legislatures, and all four were backed by the Women's Campaign Fund.

Although these groups are officially non-partisan, they have tended to back Democrats because of their greater support for the full range of feminist issues. A coalition of the groups in California is working on a coordinated strategy for supporting feminist candidates.

But Republican women, too, are beginning to push for the election of women in their party. State senators Bergeson and Rebecca Morgan, for example, started a Republican woman's political action committee which has collected $1000 from each of the six Republican women in the Legislature. That money was used to back the successful election of Bev Hansen to the Assembly from Sonoma and the unsuccessful attempt by Sacramento County Supervisor Sandy Smoley for the state Senate against Democrat Leroy Greene. Greene succeeded in gaining the support of most of the women's groups in the Sacramento area for his candidacy despite Smoley's favorable stand on feminist issues.

A number of other factors make it hard for women to break into the political arena. One may be that many just have never viewed themselves as potential candidates. Talking about "inner barriers" to women's running, Governor Madeline Kunin o Vermont told a National Women's Political Caucus convent on last year, "At some gut level, the art of politics — combative, competitive, self-asserting — is sometimes difficult to integrate with our feminine selves."

"One of the problems has to do with our own conditioning," Miles agreed. She said women believe that candidates should be extraordinarily qualified before they consider running for public office. "There are lots of women who have experience and are just as qualified as men, but they don't realize it."

The Rutgers University study backs this up, noting that a large number of women officeholders described having a sudden realization that they were just as prepared as men for public office.

Even Colorado's Democratic Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder, who was seriously considering running for president, noted that she "grew up thinking I would be a ballerina. I did not grow up thinking I was going to be president."

In fact, there is substantial evidence that many women are better prepared, with long records of community involvement and service on local elected boards. It is only recently that a few women have started taking the more direct routes to state office — the lawyer who runs for the Assembly or the staff member who runs to replace her or his boss — that have long been used by men. There is also a belief among women politicians in both parties that the leadership, dominated by men, is still more likely to turn to a male candidate than to a woman.

In the last election cycle, the cases of Republican Bev Hansen and Democrat Jackie Speier were cited as examples. Both Hansen and Speier overcame male opponents who were backed by the leadership of their respective parties. Neither says specifically that the decision to back others was the result of sexism, but Speier notes that the Democratic leadership had decided that only a "Rambo-type" Democrat could win in her district. "I don't think I come off as a Rambo."

There are indications that this "male bonding" tends to continue well after election and can work to deny women legislators access to high leadership positions.

Only two women currently serve as speakers of state houses (Oregon and South Dakota) and two more hold the highest ranking legislative positions in state senates (Arkansas and South Dakota). Women hold only 13 percent of legislative leadership positions in state legislatures and 10.7 percent of committee chairs. In California the percentages are 11 percent and 14.5 percent.

Women are also still struggling with simple things that men take for granted. For example, how is a woman candidate supposed to dress? Congresswoman Schroeder, at a meeting last year for women legislators, said that was a constant problem when she was considering running for president. "You don't look like a president, everyone kept telling me. There is just not an image of what a woman president is supposed to look like."

That question of "image" and of "style over substance" places a barrier between women candidates and the electorate at every level. A recent *Wall Street Journal* article points out that its polls have shown a "steady increase in the number of Americans who think the country is ready for a woman president."

But 65 percent still won't accept that. And a National Women's Political Caucus poll showed that 20 percent of Americans think a woman would do better than a man serving on the school board — a traditional woman's political domain — but 13 percent think she'd do a worse job in the House, 16 percent think she'd do worse in the Senate and 31 percent think she'd do worse as president.

The problems women have advancing to higher office are mirrored in California politics as well.

Senator Bergeson was on Governor George Deukmejian's "short list" to replace the late Jesse Unruh as state treasurer, but she finished, at best, a distant third behind Senator Ken Maddy of Fresno and the eventual choice, Congressman Dan Lungren of Long Beach. *Continued on next page*

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Although a statewide elected official of enormous popularity, Secretary of State March Fong Eu's bid this year to run for the U. S. Senate was never taken seriously by the political community or by a political press corps also dominated by men. Despite access to the affluent Asian community and its money, Eu was never able to raise enough cash to mount a serious candidacy. She also could not get her husband to disclose his finances, as required by federal law.

And that brings up another obstacle to recruitment of women candidates for higher office: the issue of spousal financial disclosure. Ellen Hume, writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, has observed that disclosure "has proven to be a particular stumbling block. Women candidates more frequently have spouses with business dealings, which must be disclosed publicly..."

Perhaps as important, with the 1990 reapportionment just around the corner, there are few women among the incumbents who will draw the district lines which, ideally, could move women into the Legislature and from it up to higher office.

Senator Bergeson told women participating in a recent bipartisan reapportionment workshop, "It is absolutely incumbent upon us to do something or women will not have the opportunities..."

But when women have gotten the opportunity they have made a difference in the Legislature. Bills have been passed because of their presence. There now is a women's caucus, with every woman legislator belonging, which, despite the prospects of partisan splits, occasionally joins forces to push for legislation.

Assemblywoman Teresa Hughes, a Los Angeles Democrat who is now the senior woman in the Legislature with 12 years service, said that things are "definitely" better now that she has the support of 16 other women.

"When I entered the Legislature, I was the 16th woman ever elected in the state. There are more than that right now," she noted.

Hughes said the legislative women first joined forces to push for changes in a bill that concerned punishments for prostitutes. The women wanted more severe punishments for pimps, who are most often males, rather than the females who are typically punished under prostitution laws.

Since then, the women have come together on a variety of other issues. Assemblywoman Moore said the caucus was an important help in her nine-year push to crack down on private clubs that refuse to allow women members. This year she finally succeeded in winning passage of a bill that will prohibit individuals from deducting dues paid to these clubs on their income taxes.

Moore said it was a "classic case of the time being right, and of getting all elements together at the right moment." In addition to the support of women in the Legislature, Moore had help from business women and a last minute push from women lobbyists, who worked late on the last night of the legislative session, on their own time, to win final passage of the bill in the Senate. It was signed into law by Governor Deukmejian.

The women Democrats in the Legislature, for the most part, believe Deukmejian has been only fair as far as women's issues are concerned and in his efforts to place women in the administration. Republican women, not surprisingly, see him doing a much better job.

Although the governor has sprinkled 1334 women through the administration — 26 percent of his appointees are women — women for the most part remain outside his circle of closest advisors. At this same point in his administration, former governor Jerry Brown had appointed 1029 women — 30 percent of all his appointments. In his judicial appointments, Deukmejian is appointing women at a slower rate. He has named 79 women to judgeships, not quite 15 percent of the 530 appointments he has made. However, Donna Lucas, Deukmejian's deputy press secretary, notes that he has appointed 22 percent of the woman who have applied for judgeships, the same percentage as for white males.

Women in the administration, of course, believe they are given a fair hearing and an equal chance at having influence with men. Air Resources Board Chairwoman Jananne Sharpless, a member of the governor's cabinet, says Deukmejian is "always there to listen. He has certain expectations of a cabinet individual. I don't feel cut out at all of the process. This governor gave me a challenge...and he has backed me up 100 percent."

Other women in the administration note that what Deukmejian values most is competence in his appointees, and he doesn't much care about gender as long as the work gets done. On the other hand, he is very formal in his governing style, and he takes a long time to warm up to any advisor on a personal basis. Few get really close to him. That style makes it just that much more difficult for a woman, few of whom have been with him for a long time, to exercise real influence.

Women politicians believe they will eventually hold government positions in close proportion to their numbers. They are even now asking if they have reached a "critical

Women and money

	TOTAL RECEIPTS	TRANSFERS IN	TRANSFERS OUT°
SENATE			
* Diane Watson (D)	$111,163	$500	$20,000
Marian Bergeson (R)	90,231	0	40,000
Rebecca Morgan (R)	86,087	0	28,000
Rose Ann Vuich (D)	34,146	0	-
ASSEMBLY			
Bev Hansen (R)	$466,876	$169,793	-
* Lucy Killea (D)	301,656	166,231	6500
Delaine Eastin (D)	286,216	42,578	-
Jackie Speier (D)	166,768	9000	-
✔ Lucille Roybal-Allard (D)	120,600	11,000	-
* Marian LaFollette (R)	116,336	7750	49,362
• Sally Tanner (D)	112,481	13,871	22,000
* Cathie Wright (R)	92,958	932	75,000
* Doris Allen (R)	78,977	8159	19,772
* Maxine Waters (D)	68,670	5500	70,000
* Sunny Mojonnier (R)	64,903	0	-
* Gwen Moore (D)	58,740	0	20,250
* Teresa Hughes (D)	43,547	0	25,000
AVERAGES (women)	$135,315	$25,607	$22,111
AVERAGES (all legislators)	$191,466	$31,474	$65,592

° shows contributions of $1000 or more
* up for re-election
✔ data from 1987 special election

Source: Fair Political Practices Commission, *1986 General Election Report*, July 1, 1986 through December 31, 1986.

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mass" where they hold enough government positions to make a real difference in politics.

And a few are even beginning to ask if adding more women will make lasting changes in the way the political system operates. Will women change politics so that it has more of the qualities that we call "feminine?" Will it become more sensitive, more concerned with families and social problems, and less concerned with economics and special interests? Will some of the crassness go out of the political process? Or, will the process eventually change the women who participate in it?

After all, government is a business about power. Will those people who have values we normally consider "masculine" — aggressiveness, the ability to control, the drive to win — be the ones who will be best at the power game? And, will that mean that issues will take a back seat to accumulating power?

Or, as one legislator put it, for women to achieve power do they "have to give up on issues or just on the process"?

Among political women, these questions are central to the current debate over the future direction — and style — of their participation in government.

Oregon Speaker Vera Katz argues that process affects policy. The process, she says, ought be changed and the rules of the chamber can be changed. "I am not convinced," she told participants in the CAWP Forum, "you have to play the same dirty little games they do ... to get what they want."

Assemblywoman Speier notes that currently women don't seem to be as "involved in the nitty gritty political positioning that goes on. Maybe that's a factor of the lack of numbers and not being in a position of leadership.

"But the public's perception is that women are held in higher regard in public office than are men in terms of honesty and integrity. If there were enough women elected in office, they would be subject to the same excesses and potential temptations that come with power. I'd hope we are different, but I don't think you can say across the board that women are 'goodie two-shoes.' Power and one's perception of power need to be always kept in check. That's the challenge for all of us that are elected, to maintain that balance."

"The hard part," adds NOW's Miles, "is not to simply replicate the system as men have created it but to really change the way we look at issues."

The "movement" of political women is toward the use of political pragmatism to achieve real changes in policy and away from the mounting of a "symbolic" candidacy anchored in ideological purity. They are learning that with seniority comes influence, with leadership comes power, and that more power accrues the higher up the political ladder they go.

But, as newspaper columnist Art Hoppe once put it, "The danger of political power is not so much that it is corruptible, but that the search for it becomes more fascinating than the exercise of it." For women there is always the danger that the "game" will win out — or by not playing it women will lose altogether. But there is every indication that women in public office recognize that risk and understand that it is both necessary to take it and important not to be swallowed up by its consequences to move their policy agenda.

"Women," Missouri Lieutenant Governor Harriet Woods told a reporter at the CAWP Forum, "have traditionally run for office with the idea that 'I want to make something happen,' and they take an issues approach. Men, I think, have been much more after a career ... But without abandoning their wanting to make a difference, women have to start saying, 'Maybe four years from now I want to be a governor.'"

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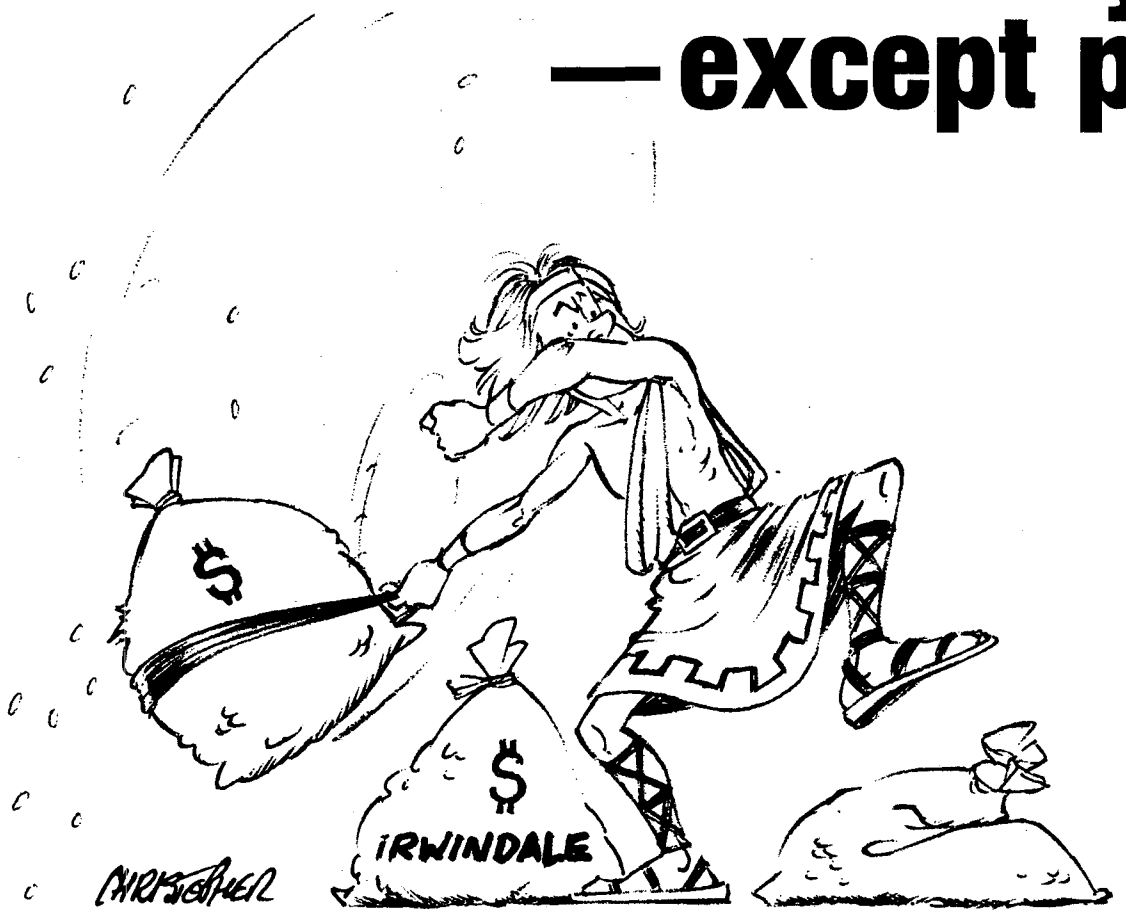
Cities with money Cities with clout Cities with everything —except people

By Elaine Lafferty



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Xavier Hermosillo is pretty darn testy these days. He's had just about enough of the press and other "narrow-minded, ignorant" sorts criticizing the city of Irwindale, the city for which Hermosillo toils and for which he orchestrated, by his own immodest description, the raiding of the Raiders football team from the city of Los Angeles.

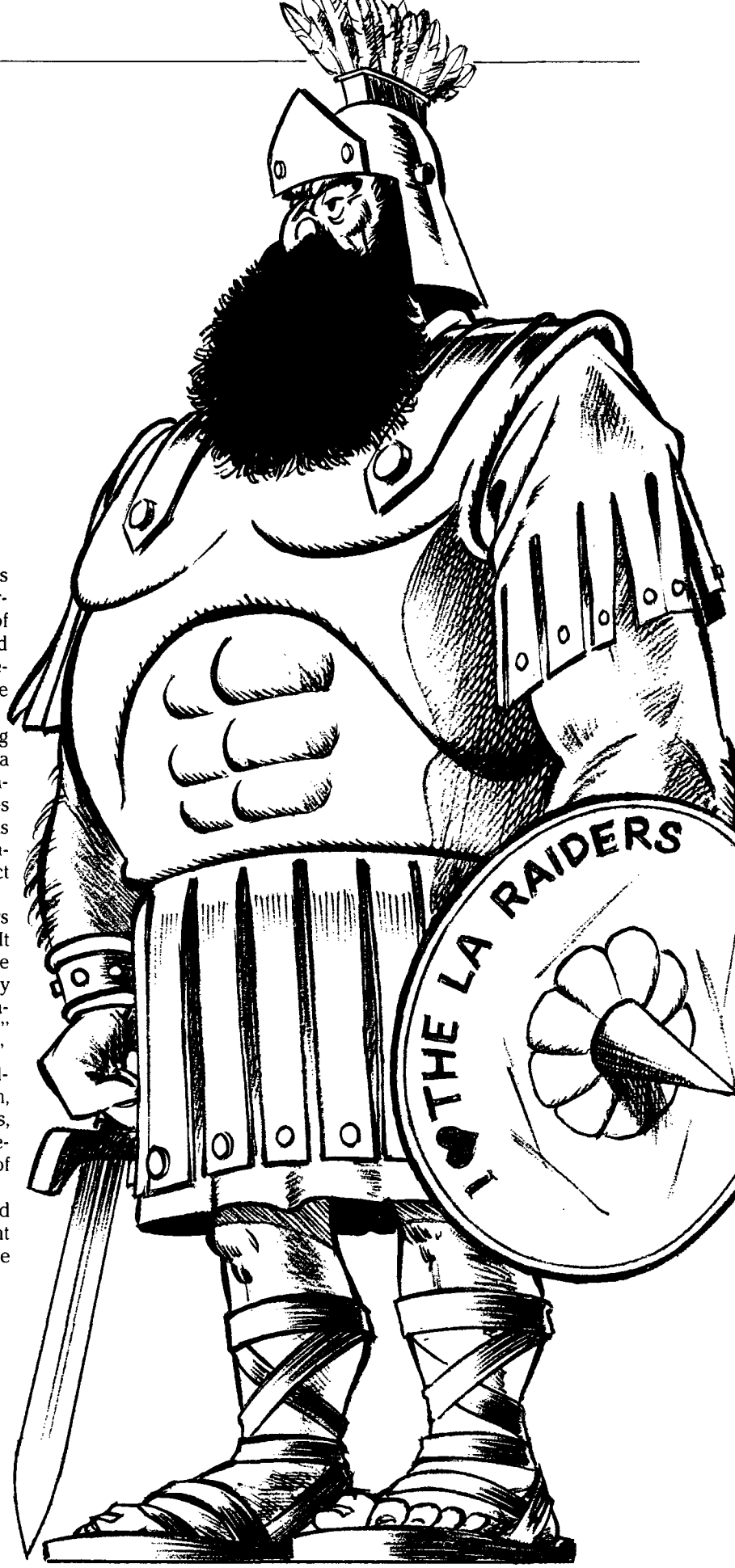
A public relations consultant, Hermosillo sees nothing untoward in the wooing of a professional sports team from a city of three million to one of some 1060 residents. The premise — that there is something inherently wrong when cities with hardly any people living in them can have large areas designated for community redevelopment and thus accumulate property tax dollars that pay for shiny incentives to attract industry, business or sports teams — is, well, rubbish.

"These cities create jobs. That is the reality that 12 years ago this city (Irwindale) was dirt roads and lean-to shacks. It was the only city in the (Los Angeles) county that was like that. They then formed a redevelopment agency. Not only have they brought the town up to the level that it's above general suburban standards, but they have created 60,000 jobs," Hermosillo says. "These cities are a plus to the economy."

Such wisdom is not, by any means, universal opinion. Calling cities like City of Commerce, City of Industry, Vernon, Emeryville, Hercules and Irwindale "special interest" cities, Cal Poly professor of history Ralph Shaffer says we have created modern fiefdoms ruled by 20th Century counterparts of the feudal barons.

Shaffer argues that company towns — usually founded by several large families and under the control of a resident business — are often so poorly populated that "they lack the

Elaine Lafferty is a freelance writer in Los Angeles.



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one characteristic that is usually associated with cities — people." The absence of a pesky resident population that requires extensive city services like schools, libraries and other amenities allows those cities to exert an unfair advantage in attracting industry. That, argues Shaffer, hurts the surrounding communities' economies.

In Southern California, the city of Vernon, population 81, "is a classic example of a city that shouldn't exist," Shaffer says.

Founded in 1905, the city today plays host to meatpacking companies, manufacturing and steel businesses and to other unglamorous revenue-producers that city administrator Bruce Malkenhorst unflinchingly calls "dirty industries." More than 55,000 workers travel to Vernon daily.

Vernon is surrounded by poor communities. With an annual budget of $90 million, Vernon supports its own 55 sworn police officers, a 65-member fire department, and its own power and lighting utility company that charges about 20 percent less than market rate, says Malkenhorst. Yes, the lower utility rate is certainly an inducement to locate in Vernon, he adds.

"We take care of our industrial residents. Our city does serve a purpose," Malkenhorst says. All-industry cities like Vernon benefit surrounding bedroom communities by limiting the transport of hazardous materials through neighboring streets and freeways, for just one example, he says, adding that other communities also avoid air pollution because "dirty industries" flock to Vernon.

"Let's face it. You park your car in our city, it's covered. There's a film in the air, " Malkenhorst says.

Environmentalists argue that air pollution is not as respecting of boundaries as some city officials would hope. Trash-burning energy plants have become a major issue in California. There is much debate as to the potential health hazards from the air emissions from these facilities. Mayor Tom Bradley only reluctantly killed the proposed Lancer trash-burning project in a poor area of Los Angeles after a coalition of mostly Black, South Central residents joined forces with affluent Westside environmentalists and homeowners to make the issue an impossible hot potato.

But in cities with no people, who will protest? In the beginning of December, three Greenpeace activists scaled a 150-foot smokestack at the City of Commercce's Refuse To Energy Facility to protest the building of a similar project in nearby Vernon. Another proposed trash-burning plant was ready to go before a licensing snag killed that project in Irwindale.

Now, the Vernon project is on hold for at least a month as Los Angeles City Councilwoman Gloria Molina and Democratic Assemblywoman Lucille Roybal-Allard join with officials from Bell and other communities to lead the fight for a full environmental-impact report.

But some agree with Hermosillo's contention that a city with few residents can, unlike Vernon, grow, prosper and do so cooperatively with surrounding communities.

From about 500 residents in the early 1970s, the town of Hercules near Oakland has grown to 12,000 residents, says city manager Marilyn Leuck. The goal is a thriving, crime-free community of 20,000 residents. The city works, in part, because the residential and shopping areas are on one side of the I-80 freeway and the industrial area is on the other.

Run by the power company whose name it bears, Hercules almost died when the power company went into decline, Leuck said. Now, with considerable help from a $3 million general-obligation bond approved by 75 percent of its voters, Hercules is on its way to building a new community center, a senior-citizens center and about eight other community projects. The community has two elementary schools, and two more are planned along with a new high school, middle school, fire station and city hall.

The city's industrial park is headquarters for Bio-Rad, a medical-testing firm, a computer software firm, and the data-control center for Mechanics Bank. Significantly, about 20 percent of the 400-acre industrial center is in a redevelopment area.

Now, there's the part that grates on Shaffer. When a community redevelopment area is created, property taxes are diverted to the CRA to support development projects and away from supporting schools and other services. Shaffer says it's unfair. In the City of Industry, for example, about $29 million has been re-routed to support redevelopment. While that figure is second only to Los Angeles, Industry supports a tiny population of only 700 people. "One can only wonder what there is to renew in downtown Industry, considering that it was almost exclusively rural before urban-renewal legislation came along," remarked Shaffer and his Cal Poly colleague Walter Coombs in an op-ed piece for the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner.*

Even Leuck concedes the game may be an unfair one.

"Hercules is a new community. We're not saddled with the old infrastructure problems of other communities. We have to remind ourselves that other cities are not as fortunate as we are," she says.

But, she insists, communities surrounding non-peopled cities can benefit economically if a spirit of cooperation exists. Through a regional industry council, Hercules supports location of ancilliary businesses in surrounding cities.

"One community raiding another can create hard feelings. We try to avoid that. We strive to create a regional balance," Leuck says.

The matter of inducing business to locate in an area involves more than redevelopment or other tax benefits, according to Hermosillo. He decribes Irwindale as a can-do place, an entreprenureal government..

"There's no red tape in this city. We do creative things," he says.

Having grown from a city of 420 residents in 1960 to a population of 1060 today, Hermosillo says the city welcomes residents as well as business. Forty-four new homes are being constructed and 26 more are on the drawing board. More than 17 huge gravel pits, remnants of the days of domination by the city's cement companies, are being filled, he says.

"If taking a massive hole and rehabilitating it - if that's not redevelopment, then there is no such thing," Hermosillo says.

With an annual budget of $127 million, Irwindale is concerned about the quality of life for its residents. For years, the city was ignored by Los Angeles County. Now, because the city is successful, and may have landed a major sports team, everybody's taking pot shots. Everybody wants a piece of the pie, Hermosillo says. He disputes the argument that the city's riches will likely go to business.

"The biggest landowner here is a lady with 11 residential lots. This city is run by the residents not by businesses. They (the residents) make an enormous contribution," he says.

Whatever ones thinks of poorly-peopled cities, they are probably here to stay. An amendment to the state Constitution would be needed to abolish such cities. Even Shaffer admits it won't happen.

"The creation of these cities has plagued the rest of us, through taxes, for years," he laments. "But not enough people care."

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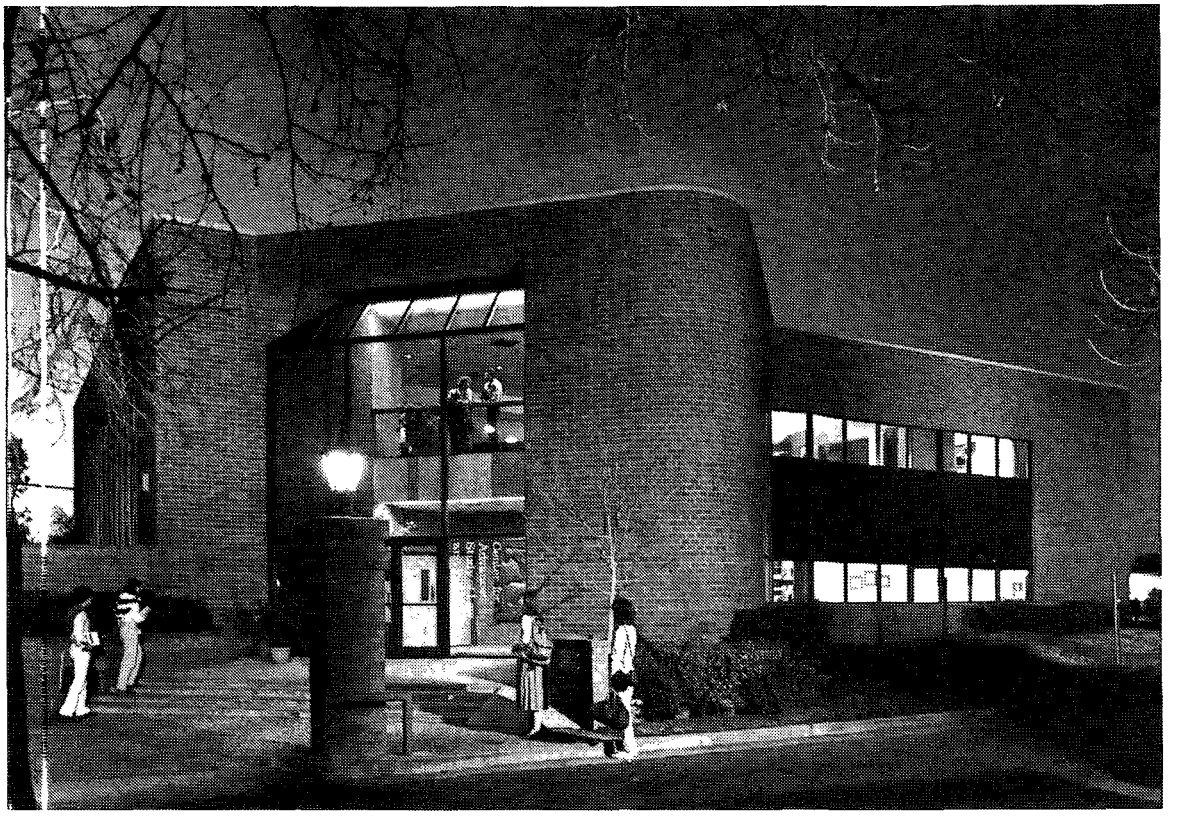

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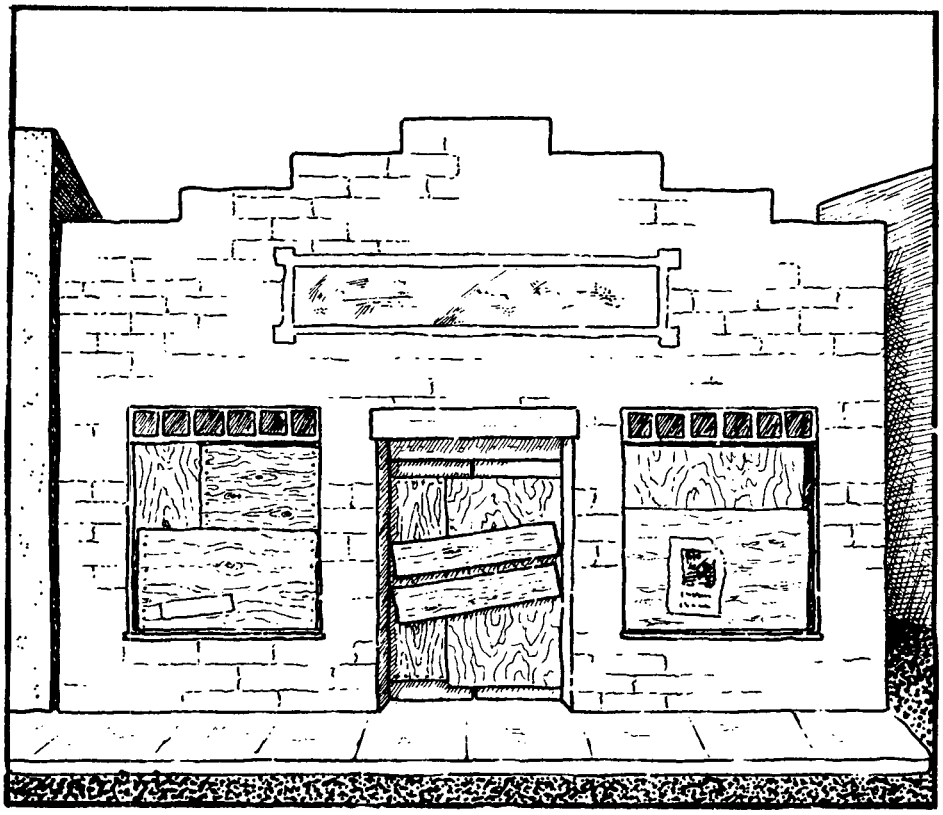

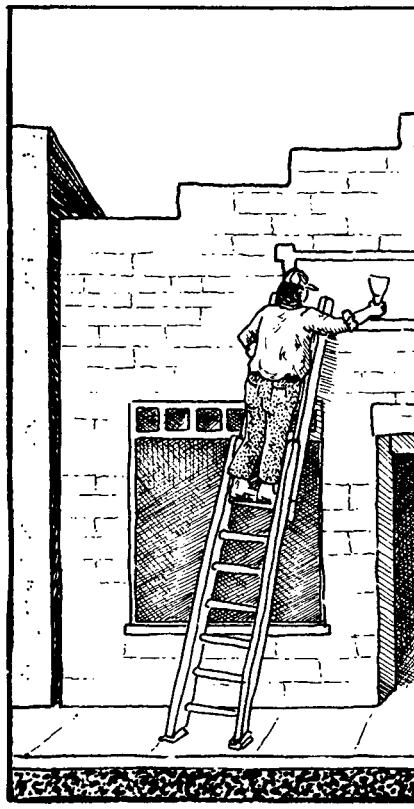

BORN AMID

Enterprise zones hob

By

Pacoima is a mostly Hispanic community lodged in a scruffy corner of Los Angeles' San Fernando Valley. But despite Pacoima's depressed economy and 15 percent unemployment rate, something is happening there. Three new industrial parks have risen during the last year, and 15 small businesses have moved into the area. Local shops post small red signs in their windows, reading "Pride in Pacoima."

Five hundred miles away, in the Northern California city of Eureka, business activity is changing. The community, long dependent upon the cyclical timber and fishing industries, is attracting businesses of a more varied sort. A salsa maker and a special-effects firm have recently moved into the area, and a local equipment manufacturer is expanding. City officials expect such firms to add depth to the area's vulnerable, resource-based economy.

The communities of Pacoima and Eureka are California enterprise zones, participating in one of the state's newest programs to turn back the forces of urban blight. Enterprise zones aim to stimulate economic growth in depressed areas by reducing the tax and regulatory obstacles that stifle natural business expansion. As business activity improves, zone theory goes, so will jobs and quality of life for those in the area.

But the zones themselves have faced almost overwhelming obstacles on the path from theory to implementation. Budget cutting and political rivalries have halted the development of a national enterprise zone program. And now California's fledgling program, just a few years off the ground, may also be facing an early death.

The concept of enterprise zones entered the nation's political consciousness with great fanfare, championed by none other than Ronald Reagan. During his 1980 presidential campaign, Reagan heralded zones as a promising approach to the problems of urban distress. Reagan made zones a prominent part of his campaign platform. His opponent, incumbent President Jimmy Carter, also endorsed the concept.

The idea had slipped into the country a few years earlier, imported from Britain by the Heritage Foundation, a conservative Washington D.C. think tank with strong ties to the Republican Party. The Heritage Foundation touted zones as a low-cost alternative to urban-renewal programs of the 1960s and '70s. The goal of the zones was to create pockets of economic freedom, stripped of the usual governmental restrictions on business activity. The program would require no federal subsidies, just administrative costs and tax credits.

Reagan and the Heritage Foundation were not the only ones pushing for enterprise zones. Legislators in both parties supported the concept. As far back as 1978, Republican Congressman Jack Kemp and Democratic Congressman Bob Garcia, both of New York, teamed up to sponsor legislation that would establish a federal zone program, complete with federal tax credits and other business incentives.

But today, no federal program exists. And with the exception of Kemp and Garcia, few lawmakers seem to muster

Alexa Bell is a freelance writer from Los Angeles.

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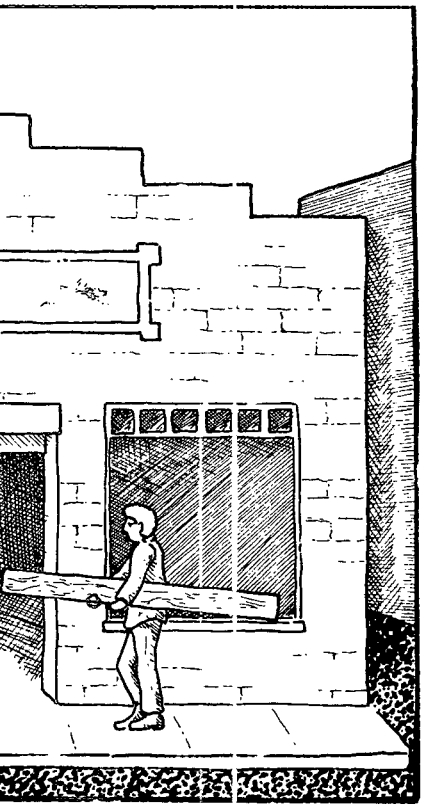

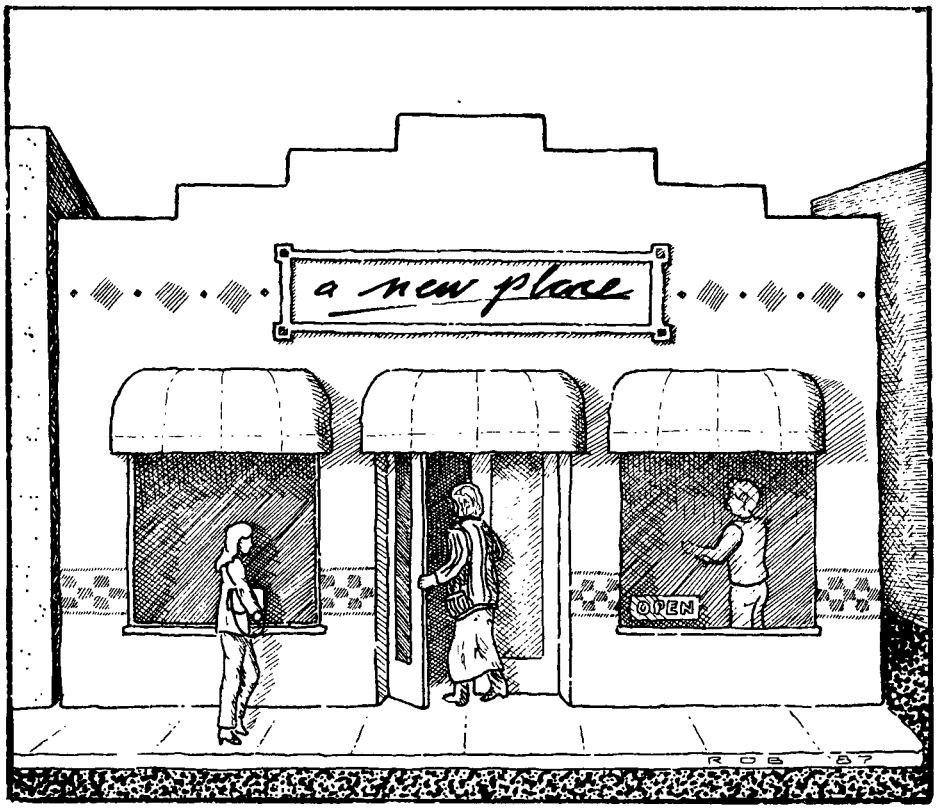

AT FANFARE:

ed by political neglect

Bell

much enthusiasm for the idea. Indeed, the Kemp-Garcia program has been waylaid for almost 10 years in the House Ways and Means Committee. This has prompted Stuart Butler, director of domestic policy at the Heritage Foundation and author of a book about zones, to lament that, at the federal level at least, enterprise zones are "an idea whose time has gone."

What happened? The most likely answer is that the zones fell victim to the administration's overriding concern with budget cutting. According to a spokesman for Democratic Congressman Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, the zones are a low priority due to the larger mandate to slash expenses. Both the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Office of Management and Budget have withheld support from the zone program, which they perceive as revenue losing.

But Kemp staffers call the budget argument a mirage. "We've always said, 'How can you lose (tax) revenue from a non-existent business?'" says Tom Humbert, a staff economist for Kemp. "If you give this tax break for a business start-up, we think it will be a net revenue gain." Humbert accuses Rostenkowski of playing politics with the program. "The program is closely associated with Kemp. Why would he want to give Kemp credit for concern about inner cities?"

Politics or pragmatism, federal steam for the program appears to be spent. Even Reagan appears to have forgotten about it. "We don't even hear the ritualistic calls (from the White House) for enterprise zones anymore," says Humbert. "It's a source of embarrassment that they have been so weak on this."

With the federal government out of the picture, zone advocates have focused their energies on states, which have proven more receptive to enterprise zone programs. Thirty-three states now have zones in place, some of which have been operating since 1982.

California came relatively late to the game, despite the attempts of Republican Assemblyman Pat Nolan to pass a state program early on. Nolan, a vociferous supporter of the zone concept, introduced his first enterprise-zone bill in 1981. Nolan introduced his second bill in 1982. This bill passed both the Assembly and Senate, only to be vetoed by former Governor Jerry Brown for budgetary reasons.

Nolan's third attempt got stalled in a partisan battle between Nolan and Democratic Assemblywoman Maxine Waters over the form the program should take. Waters, chairwoman of the powerful Ways and Means subcommittee, held the Nolan bill hostage when she formulated her own legislation. The two bills were then double-joined and signed into law by Governor George Deukmejian in 1984.

The Waters and Nolan bills set up two parallel, 15-year programs with similar goals. Both programs use a basket of state incentives to encourage job growth in distressed areas. These incentives include:

- tax credits for firms hiring "qualified" disadvantaged employees either living near the zone or participating in public job programs;

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- sales-tax credits for new machinery purchases;
- a 15-year carry over of net operating losses;
- expensing of certain depreciable property; and,
- interest-income deductions for loans made to businesses in the zones.

But the two programs have basic differences, too. Waters' legislation, which establishes "incentive areas," restricts benefits to companies that hire a specified percentage of qualified employees. This guarantees that state benefits result in jobs for low-income residents but eliminates a large number of employers from the program. Nolan's program follows more closely the original zone concept by providing incentives to any business operating within designated enterprise zones. Tax credits then increase when businesses hire from the pool of qualified employees.

California designated its first batch of incentive areas and enterprise zones, including Pacoima and Eureka, in October 1986. Throughout most of 1987, local officials scrambled to put their programs in place. Though still in the preliminary stages of the program, localities claim to be impressed with the response they are still getting from the business and local communities.

"What's happened in one short year has been very positive," says Michael Jenkins, coordinator of the enterprise zone operating in downtown San Diego. During the zone's first year, it gained 104 new jobs from expansion of existing businesses. Three-fourths of these jobs are targeted to low-income residents living near or adjacent to the zone. In addition, San Diego processed 15 building permits for the zone area — a dramatic improvement over the seven permits processed in the previous three years.

Other zones are also seeing an increase in business activity. In the Fresno enterprise zone, projects are expected to create 560 new jobs and import 150 existing jobs into the zone. In addition, capital investment in the zone has increased by $27.5 million, or 3 percent over the area's $880 million base. And in Eureka there have been over 187 small business start-ups since that zone's initiation.

The state has capped the number of zones at 10 (though Nolan may propose to increase that number to 25 in the near future) and the number of incentive areas at nine. Thus local governments must compete for the designations. Localities are required to devise a package of local tax, regulatory and program incentives to supplement the state benefits, which are judged by their effectiveness and uniqueness. They must also show that their proposed zones are economically distressed, and they must complete environmental impact reports on the areas.

Local incentives vary from zone to zone, but usually include some variety of fast-track permit processing, reimbursement of permit and/or licensing fees, limited financial assistance and job referral services. Some cities get more creative. Fresno, for instance, offers a "one-stop committee" through which members of various city departments can be brought together quickly to resolve problems with development proposals. The city has also created an infrastructure development fund to finance large-scale improvements to the zone.

The combination of state and local incentives provides cities with a major marketing tool for their depressed locations. This, says Eureka zone coordinator Dennis E. Ivey, may be its biggest advantage. "In the first year the benefits are marketing. It's a way we can get our foot in the door to tell

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Waters

Nolan

businesses about the benefits and compete on a regional or national level for business."

Ivey has successfully used state and local benefits to help out-of-town firms move into the enterprise zone. Among these is the Annalisa Food Company, a small salsa manufacturer that relocated from the Hayward area near Oakland. The firm was initially drawn to Eureka because of a tortilla-chip maker already operating in the zone. The city then added further incentive in the form of a $60,000 loan at 6 percent interest over a five-year period.

"Previously, they had financed everything internally," notes Ivey. "Their weakness was in approaching commercial banks. Bay Area banks did not think of them as a serious business." Six weeks after the initial approach, Annalisa had moved into the zone, bringing six immediate jobs and 35 long-range openings.

Another benefit of zone designation is the revitalizing effect it can have on community activism and pride. In Pacoima, business and civic groups have embraced the zone concept and found various ways to contribute to the program. The Catholic Church, Chamber of Commerce and other civic groups have sponsored two community cleanup efforts. Local businesses display signs in their windows supporting the zone. Graffiti is being removed. Such gestures have a subtle but beneficial effect on the area, says zone coordinator Lupe Vela, who notes that it is hard to attract businesses to a community that looks neglected.

Vela also has pulled together a local advisory council, consisting of businesses, residents and government officials. Besides providing local input, the council is tackling some of the problems that hinder business in the zone. Among the council's projects are an investigation into insurance redlining in the area and development of a local child-care program.

In addition to enhancing the zone's overall business appeal, many localities will tailor incentives to individual companies. This approach allowed Fresno to lend crucial aid to Roxford Foods, a poultry-trucking firm hoping to expand into the poultry-processing business. The firm, which was already in the zone, asked the city for help with its expansion plans. In response, the city purchased a plot of additional land in the zone for $2.245 million — and resold it to Roxford for a mere $10. The city also helped the firm secure $11.5 million in financing from a commercial bank.

According to Fresno zone coordinator Dennis Gaab, the city's hefty investment in Roxford will pay off. City officials expect it to bring 280 to 350 new jobs into the zone, 150 of which will go to low-income residents living in or near the zone. The

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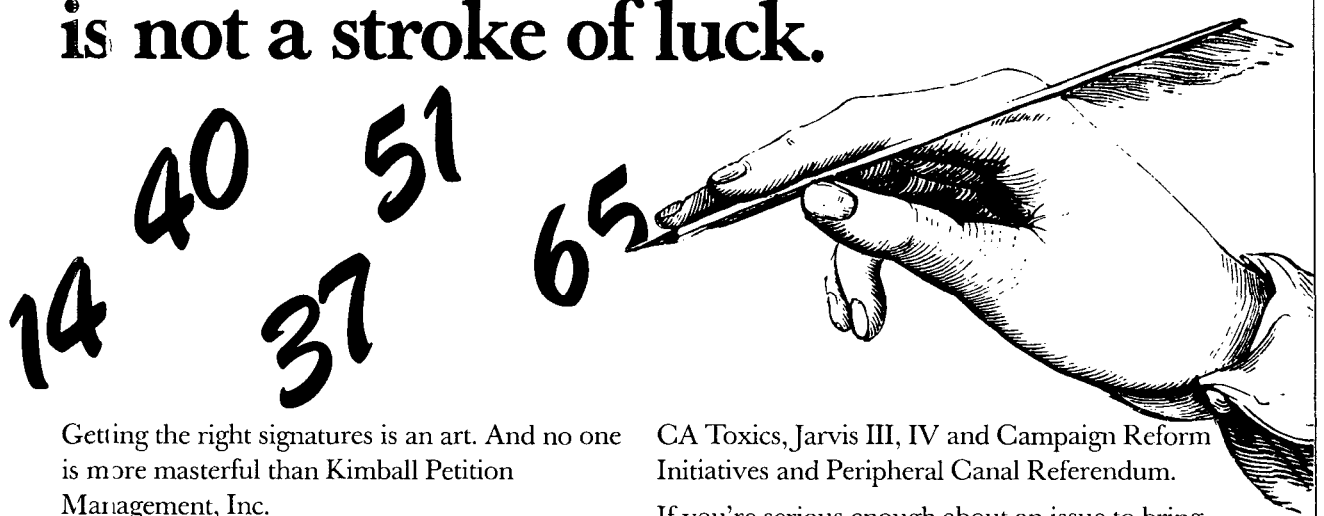

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new plant will also inject a $16 million to $80 million capital infusion into the local economy. Further, the city expects to earn back the cost of the land plus an extra $569,000 in 20 years through taxes and fees levied on the new business.

Though zones appear to be making progress, the pace is slower than a project like Roxford would suggest. Most zone businesses are small companies, often one-or-two person operations. Local coordinators have also found the zones more appealing to industrial concerns than to commercial businesses, mostly due to zones' locations and to the emphasis on capital investment in the tax credits.

Some zones face greater hurdles than others. Urban zones, with their dense populations and limited land, are harder to manage than zones in more rural areas, says Paul Hiller, manager of the enterprise zone program for the state Department of Commerce. For one thing, community consensus is harder to build. "It's impossible to avoid conflict ... in a densely populated area," he says. "No matter who you are, someone is going to oppose you."

Los Angeles' central city enterprise zone, a heavily populated area located near the city's downtown core, is a case in point. Community opponents recently protested and defeated a plan to bring a light manufacturing plant into the zone. The residents saw the plant as a further intrusion into shrinking residential areas — an issue that has been festering throughout Los Angeles. The city is now looking for an alternative plant site within the zone and creating a community advisory council to help it avoid future conflicts, says Reynold Blight, senior administrative assistant for the Community Development Department.

San Diego also has had a bout of urban stress. The city council angered businesses in the zone last summer by levying heavy urban impact fees to help fund infrastructure improvements. The fees, which could have run into the hundreds of thousands for some firms, sparked a revolt among zone businesses. The state Department of Commerce also opposed the levy. The city ultimately exempted commercial and industrial ventures from the fees, but local businessmen were disillusioned.

"You really begin to wonder if you should spend the money, train the employees and put up with the rules and regulations," says Jerry Harris, president of the zone business association. "Without the exemption, the enterprise zone would not be attractive at all."

On an anecdotal level, the zones appear to be working. But it is difficult for either the state or localities to quantify the program's impact. "In five years, Pacoima will have changed a lot," says Vela, referring to the industrial parks, mini-malls and businesses slated to move in. Yet, she notes, she doesn't know how much is due to her efforts. "It's too early to tell if the enterprise zone is drawing people or if they'd come anyway."

We may never find out. Momentum in the zones came to a halt this September when California legislators unexpectedly slashed the incentives implemented just one year ago. The change — part of the Tax Conformity Act of 1987 — cuts the state's 15-year tax credit program to six years, moving its termination date up from 2001 to 1992. As a result, businesses not yet operating in the zones may receive only a few years' worth of benefits. To local zone coordinators and businesses, this is a crushing blow, putting all the effort of the past year in jeopardy.

The tax situation "pretty seriously undermines the program," says San Diego's Jenkins. "It makes me a liar because I've been actively selling this program to businesses, and they rely on the availability of these tax credits. The first question they ask me is, 'Is this program really going to be here for 15 years?' And I tell them, 'Yes.'"

"I'm worried that businesses that were counting on those credits may be adversely affected and go out of business," Jenkins adds. "In San Diego this is a severely economically depressed area. There are costs associated with doing business in it."

According to Dan Garcia, president of the Los Angeles Planning Commission, enterprise zones have little to offer without the full tax credits. "Municipalities like Los Angeles have responded well in establishing enterprise zones," he says. "But the reality is that the benefits are not that strong to begin with, and with the current dilution, it's questionable that (zones) are viable at all."

In the state Capitol, Nolan's staffers are hopeful that the benefits may not be permanently lost. The tax credits, cut as part of a sweeping effort to bring state tax codes into conformity with federal law, were not singled out for reduction, they note. "There is serious consideration by Nolan to see if there are ways to continue it past the five-year program," says Dan Dunmoyer, senior consultant to the Assembly Republican Caucus. "It's very likely that it will be extended."

In the meantime, he acknowledges that the cut "has thrown a monkey wrench" into zone planning.

While state lawmakers ponder the zones' newest setback, local officials say they'll lobby for extended credits and carry on with the enterprise zones as best they can. In a sense, they say, they have no choice. While the jury's been out on the enterprise zones, older poverty programs have slipped away.

"To a degree I've always felt that enterprise zones are a bone thrown to struggling communities ... after other federal programs have been withdrawn," says Garcia. But the zones will not easily be abandoned by local communities, he said. "They're the only game in town."

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Community organizers bring new clout to urban poor

By Ruben Castenada

Los Angeles City Hall is usually filled with blue-and gray-suited bureaucrats, high-powered lobbyists and nattily dressed politicians. But on a cold, rainy Halloween Saturday, a different kind of crowd filled the hall's council chamber — garment workers, janitors, employees of fast-food restaurants. They were overwhelmingly Latino or Black, but there were a large number of Anglos and Asians among them as well. Their battle cry, which they chanted over and over, was simple and direct: "Five-oh-one; five-oh-one!"

They had come, nearly 1000 of them, to appeal to four members of the state Industrial Welfare Commission to raise the state minimum wage from $3.35 an hour to $5.01 an hour. During the commission's hearing, one woman — a 58-year-old mother of 10 from South El Monte, told panel members (through her parish priest, who translated from Spanish to English) — that she always wears long-sleeved dresses to cover the burn marks she gets from working her $3.50-an-hour job at a factory that produces tamale and taco shells. Representatives of the restaurant industry warned that if the minimum wage is raised above the $4 level the commission had previously recommended, workers would be laid off, food prices would go up.

The impressive showing by low-wage earners was part of the well-orchestrated campaign led by three Los Angeles-area community groups — the United Neighborhoods Organization, the South Central Organizing Committee and the East Valleys Organization — to win the heart, mind and, most important, the vote of Muriel Morse, the commission member who represented the swing vote on the five-member panel.

The campaign — to culminate in the commission's December 18th vote on whether to raise the minimum wage and to what level — was a prototype effort by sister organizations that have played a key role on numerous issues affecting their predominantly Latino and Black constituencies. It was a campaign that involved not only public showings like the commission hearing, but a lot of research, behind the scenes

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lobbying, and escalating attention to the potential agent for change — in this case, Morse.

Even opponents on the issue acknowledged the groups waged an effective campaign. "They (UNO, SCOC and EVO)

Morse

McNeil

mobilize people who probably wouldn't be organized otherwise and get their point of view heard," said Judy Wollan, program director, human and cultural resources, for the Greater Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce, which opposed increasing the minimum wage. "They're a powerful force."

The effort by the church-based organizations actually began in 1986 when group leaders surveyed their constituents — members of the 74 churches which belong to the three groups. Group leaders learned that many of their members in low-paying jobs were struggling just to survive. A research committee, headed by the Reverend Gary Smith, a Catholic priest and UNO leader, tried to find out what could be done to raise the minimum wage and how many people are low-wage earners. Smith and his team, over a period of three months, learned that 322,000 people in California earn $3.35 an hour; that 600,000 people earn $4 an hour or less; that 1.4 million people earn $5 or less; and that 62 percent of these people are women and a disproportionate percentage are minorities. He also learned about the Industrial Welfare Commission, the little-known body which sets the state minimum wage. He and other researchers spoke with labor leaders and members of the California Catholic Conference, who had dealt with the commission.

It became apparent that two commission members — Michael Callahan and David Padilla, both retired union officials — were sympathetic to raising the minimum wage to $5.01 an hour. It was also apparent that two other commission members, Lynnel Pollock and James Rude, would vote against an increase or for a smaller increase. That left Morse, a 73-year-old resident of Altadena, visiting professor at USC's School of Public Administration and an appointee of Governor George Deukmejian, who opposes raising the minimum wage. But Morse was undecided.

Early in 1987 the organizations began to lobby Morse quietly. Smith and other group leaders met with Morse at her home. Business people in favor of the wage hike — including small minority businessmen who anticipated increased business if low-wage earners were to receive a boost in income — were dispatched to talk to Morse. And local leaders of Morse's church — the Episcopal Church — also spoke to her on behalf of the proposed increase. Economists and other academics in favor of raising the minimum wage spoke with Morse to balance the arguments of other academics who said that raising the minimum wage would cost jobs.

As the time for the commission to make its decision drew nearer, UNO, SCOC and EVO increased their efforts.

In August the groups arranged a meeting between Morse and low-wage earners so she could hear what it's like to live on minimum wage. One mother of four told Morse she could not feed and clothe her four children earning the minimum wage at her garment factory job. Others told similar stories of struggling to make ends meet on their small wages. Humanizing the issue for Morse was key to being successful, to convincing her the minimum wage hike is needed, said Larry McNeil, the 39-year-old California director of the Industrial Areas Foundation, the umbrella group to which UNO, SCOC and EVO belong.

In an interview before the commission's final vote, Morse declined to say how she would vote. But she did indicate the UNO-SCOC-EVO campaign had made a clear impression on her. "They're well-prepared. They certainly have been faithful to their constituency on this issue," she said. "I have appreciated the opportunity to hear various points of view. These organizations have a good network for rallying people. I think it's effective, and it's needed."

The minimum wage battle is typical of the urban guerrilla approach to issues that UNO and SCOC, and now EVO, have used in recent years to combat various problems within their communities, most of which are poor to working-class.

UNO was established in 1977 and has grown to include 25 member-churches, representing 110,000 families on the predominantly Latino East Side of Los Angeles. SCOC was established in 1979 and now includes 38 member-churches, representing 90,000 families in South Los Angeles and Compton, areas which are primarily Black but which have growing Latino populations. EVO was launched in late 1986 and represents communities in the San Gabriel and Pomona valleys. Together, churches in the organizations represent some 11 denominations, including Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and independent churches. The groups were established with the help of the New York-based Industrial Areas Foundation, which has established similar organizations to give residents, particularly poor working people, a say over the destinies of their communities.

Acting on an agenda dictated by a consensus of community residents — not a small group of leaders in a smoke-filled room — UNO and SCOC have earned a reputation as tough, well-organized and, most important, effective forces to be reckoned with. And though it is still in its infancy, EVO has been active on issues ranging from crime to pollution. Its organizers hope to build the kind of track record UNO and SCOC have built.

The list of UNO and SCOC accomplishments over the years is impressive. Among UNO's victories:

- The organization pressured supermarket chains in barrio areas to clean up their stores, and helped persuade Safeway to build a new store in the heart of the Boyle Heights barrio.
- UNO helped lower auto insurance rates on the East Side.
- The group was instrumental in the creation of Community Youth Gang Services, a project to reduce gang violence.
- UNO pressured officials into closing down a toxic dump in Boyle Heights.

SCOC has also scored some key victories:

- The group lobbied for, and won, a Los Angeles City Council ordinance that put greater restrictions on liquor stores, which Black leaders say are hotbeds of crime in their community, places where hoodlums congregate. The meas-

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Conferring on the day of the Ralphs action, left to right: Dan Saenz, UNO leader; Fr. John Seymour, SCOC leader, and Jan Charles Gray, Ralphs senior vice president.

ure required hearings for conditional use permits for new liquor stores -- permits which, if denied, could prevent new stores from opening up.

- Like its sister organization UNO, SCOC has pressured local supermarket operators to clean up their stores.

Some of UNO's and SCOC's most significant victories have come on projects in which the two groups worked together.

The two groups worked together to have legislators pass anti-crime legislation which resulted in a money-laundering measure, a statewide automated fingerprint system, and the acceptance in court of statements made by a witness killed before he can testify. Pulling together 136 inner-city churches and community agencies, UNO and SCOC secured more than $1 million in Olympic surplus funds controlled by the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles. The funds, a windfall from 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles, have gone to various programs serving inner-city youth.

The two organizations are now embarking on a project aimed at reducing high school drop-out rates and increasing employment for high school graduates. The program, known as the Genesis project, is typical of the way UNO, SCOC and EVO bring together different segments of a community to attack a specific problem. Partners in the project include the Los Angeles Unified School District; the United Teachers of Los Angeles, the district's teachers union; the Greater Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce; parents and students; and UNO and SCOC leaders. In the pilot program, in which six high schools (three from the East Side, three from South Central LA) are participating, high school seniors sign contracts in which they agree to maintain a grade point average of C-plus or better and at least 95 percent attendance. In exchange, students are promised, if they hold up their end of the deal, an entry-level job with opportunities for advancement after graduation. The chamber of commerce has agreed to identify up to 1500 jobs as part of the project.

In another joint UNO-SCOC campaign, Los Angeles city officials in 1985 agreed to have an independent firm study the Los Angeles Police Department's manpower deployment plan, which UNO and SCOC leaders say puts too much emphasis on the dollar amount of property crimes at the expense of many Black and Latino communities. The report was due in December, and UNO and SCOC leaders planned to use it to fight for more police in their communities.

The degree of respect the IAF organizations have earned was vividly illustrated during a gathering at the Shrine Auditorium last July at which 6500 delegates from UNO, SCOC and EVO celebrated IAF's 10th anniversary in Southern California. The event drew an all-star line-up of local and national political and religious leaders. They included U.S. Senator Ted Kennedy; San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros; Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley; Democratic state Senator Art Torres of Los Angeles; Democratic Congressman Augustus Hawkins of LA; Los Angeles Roman Catholic Archbishop Roger Mahony; and Harold Ezell, Western regional commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. (True to the organizations' confrontational style, the controversial Ezell, who has clashed with Latino and civil rights groups, was pointedly excluded from the group of dignitaries invited to sign a constitution-like document calling for families, churches, synagogues and unions to "combat the unbridled power of organized greed, neglect and corruption.")

Continued on next page

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The IAF organizations are among "the few groups which are truly doing community organizing, which is hard work," said Los Angeles school board member Leticia Quezada, who is working with UNO and SCOC on the Genesis project. "They're not interested in doing fly-by-night projects, they want to do things that will last, and that takes time. By the training they offer, they enable the average parent, the average teacher, to become community leaders."

Rosalinda Lugo, a 28-year-old schoolteacher, longtime East LA resident and a UNO member since 1981, agreed with Quezada's assessment. "I became a leader not by accident, but by systematic training," said Lugo, who has testified before the state Legislature on various education issues taken on by UNO and is helping to spearhead the Genesis project.

Like many UNO, SCOC and EVO leaders, Lugo had been relatively apolitical before joining her organization, not participating in any movement or campaign. But many of the organizations' leaders have a history of working with various political groups, and they too have praise for the IAF's regimented approach of identifying a problem within a community, researching it, analyzing the chances for victory, and developing and acting on a specific strategy.

"I've worked with a lot of civil rights organizations that reacted to everything that came along. That's all they did, react, not act, swatting at every butterfly that came along," said the Reverend William Johnson, pastor of a Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in Compton and an SCOC core leader. "We don't just react — we act."

"What I like about (working with EVO) is that everything comes directly from the people, and that everything we do is well-researched before we do it," said Mary Jo Gruca, a lay person at Our Lady of the Assumption Catholic Church in Claremont and an EVO core leader.

Gerald Foster, southern region vice president for Pacific Telesis and chairman of the human resources committee of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, has worked with UNO on different education projects over the last five years, including the Genesis project. Foster has been impressed by the stick-together sense of community UNO has engendered among its members in a city in which many people don't even know their next-door neighbor. "UNO has done a great deal in terms of helping to establish a community consciousness," Foster said. "One of the issues we have to deal with in a metropolitan area like Los Angeles is citizen involvement at the community level, and UNO has done and is doing a lot to promote that."

Such a sense of unity is one of the key components of the IAF organizing strategy. The organizations are collectives and not hierarchies for a reason, said McNeil, the California director of IAF. "The quickest way to kill an organization is to concentrate its power in the hands of a few people," he said. "(At UNO, SCOC and EVO) no one or two people run things. Decisions are made collectively."

Another key component of the IAF strategy is its organizing base — churches — said Los Angeles City Councilman Richard Alatorre, who represents an East Side area that includes a number of UNO member-churches. "They are tied to one of the most important institutions in the community — the church," Alatorre said. "A great degree of their success is due to the fact they are tied to the church. They have a captive audience."

The use of churches — established, respected institutions with an already-organized group of people — is one of the concepts developed by the late radical Saul Alinsky, a key figure in the success of IAF.

"You find three basic things in churches," McNeil said. "They have organized people already — the congregation. You also find a set of shared values. And they are a way to raise money (through dues). If you don't raise money, you're not going to get anything done."

UNO and SCOC both have annual budgets of around $200,000, almost all of which goes to pay a handful of full-time organizers for each group. None of the IAF groups makes political endorsements or contributions. The organizations deliberately stay clear of electoral politics, other than holding candidate forums and "educating" their members about different candidates.

"Politicians breed dependency," said Lou Negrete, a professor of Chicano studies at California State University, Los Angeles, and a UNO leader. "If you hitch your wagon to one star, you might come to regret it," said the Reverend Doug Ralston, pastor of a Catholic church in Santa Fe Springs and a UNO leader. Training the organizations' leaders is a slow, arduous process which weeds out flash-in-the-pan activists. It takes five years or so to train a leader who can help develop strategy and mobilize people for a UNO or an SCOC, McNeil said. "The leaders who last are usually the ones who have

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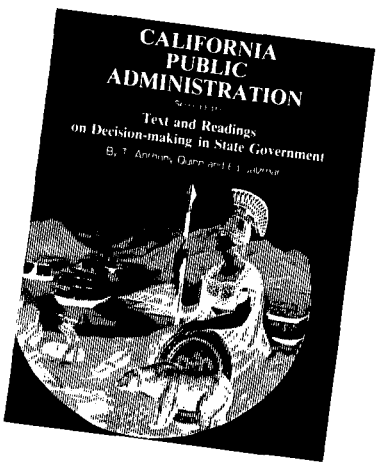

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some anger,' he said. "They feel a disparity between the way things are and the way things should be."

Indeed a UNO organizing meeting in mid-October was nothing if not a study in moral outrage. For the UNO, SCOC and EVO leaders, the minimum wage battle was a moral crusade, the black hats against the white hats.

"If you take the children of light out of the public arena, all you have left is the children of darkness," an intense McNeil said as he impressed upon the UNO leaders the importance of making the debate over minimum wage as public as possible

"It is our obligation to fight, not just as an organization, but as Christians," an angry Jesse Martinez (a UNO leader) nearly screamed when one other leader had the temerity to suggest the group should put minimum wage on the back burner in favor of other issues.

For all their good intentions, UNO and SCOC leaders have sometimes drawn criticism for their tactics and means, even from supporters. For example, Democratic Assemblywoman Maxine Waters of Los Angeles praised the work of SCOC and UNO, saying they have empowered people and given them a sense of control over their own destinies. But she criticized a UNO-SCOC legislative proposal that would have given police greater powers in using wiretaps. The proposal, Waters implied, resulted from naivete on the part of white organizers. "Sometimes we in the minority community have to educate white folks on certain things," she said, explaining that police abuse of greater wiretapping powers was inevitable and would undoubtedly be directed at minority communities first and foremost.

McNeil said only that the proposal was carefully drafted and could not be used against anyone but drug dealers. And Gwen Cordova, an SCOC leader, said the ideas emanated from SCOC and UNO leaders, not from fulltime organizers. "We're the ones who decide what to do, not the organizer," she said adding that the proposal, which was unsuccessful, was a good one.

And a member of the chamber of commerce who is helping coordinate the Genesis project expressed some doubts as to whether UNO and SCOC would have the know-how to follow through effectively on the project. By mid-October, not all of the high schools in the pilot program had their complement of contracts with students signed — an aspect of the project that UNO and SCOC leaders were spearheading.

"They're very good at conceptualizing a project and getting it off the ground," Gehlen said. "As to whether they have the ability to anticipate the nuts-and-bolts of the project, I'm not sure." (UNO leader Lugo reported to other UNO leaders during the mid-October meeting that the group would have to commit more leadership and attention to Genesis to make it succeed).

And the groups' confrontation tactics sometimes rankle members of other groups they are working with. When the chamber of commerce's board of directors met last March to consider signing on to the Genesis project (the chamber was the last partner to join), UNO and SCOC members staged a large-scale demonstration (the groups like to call such demonstrations "actions") in front of the chamber office and invited television, print and radio reporters. A number of chamber directors were not pleased. "They didn't need to do that. It was overkill," said one chamber member, who asked not to be identified.

On the other hand, the tactic worked.

"The board would have joined the project anyway. I think it upset some people," Gehlen said. "On the other hand, realistically, we might not have agreed to it so soon."

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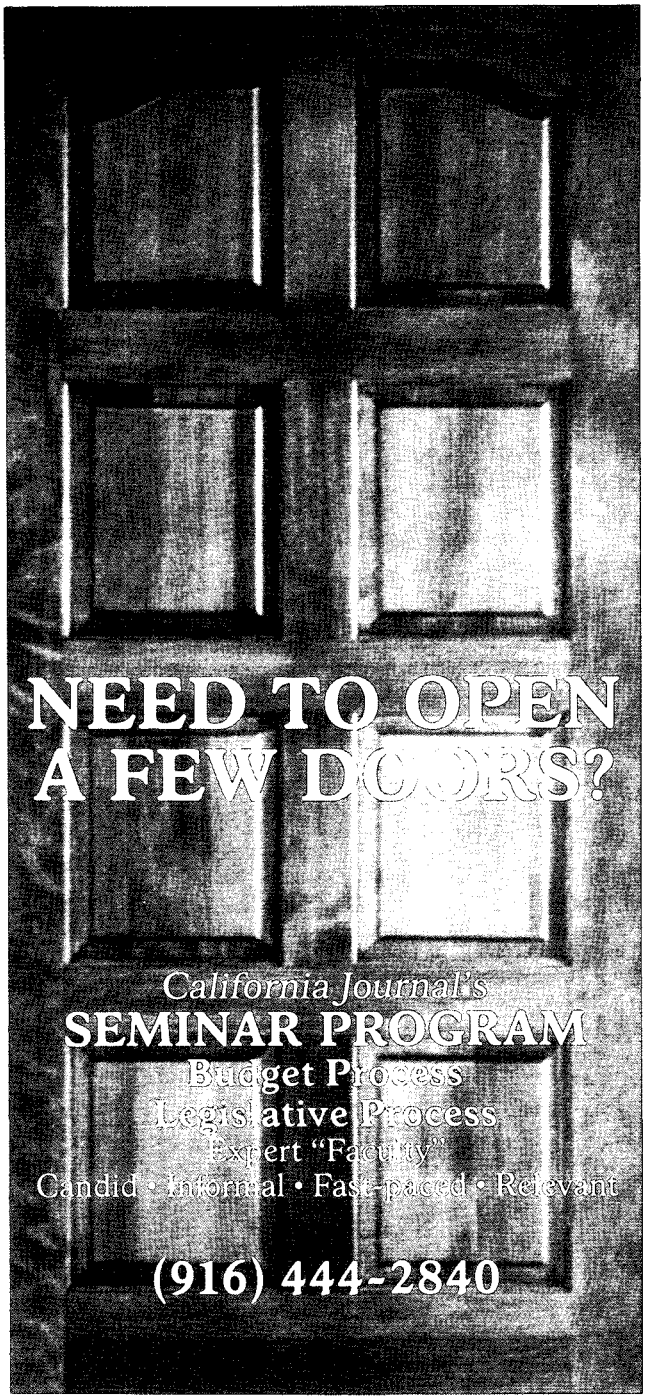

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Will Cranston and Wilson duel over the desert?

By Bob Pratte

In a year when Pete Wilson wants to be reelected to the U.S. Senate, California's Republican senator has found himself stuck in the squabble over Senate Bill 7 — the proposed California Desert Protection Act sponsored by the state's Democratic senator, Alan Cranston. Thus, a bill that Wilson had nothing to do with has become a top priority in his office.

Wilson hears from lobbyists for the mining industry who say designating 7.5 million acres of new desert wilderness will remove too much land from potential mining in the future. He receives letter after letter from off-road vehicle enthusiasts who complain the bill cuts out too much of their riding territory. He hears from Wilderness Society and Sierra Club members and lobbyists who back the bill because they say the federal Bureau of Land Management is not properly managing the California desert.

They all are waiting for Wilson's opinion. When Wilson was elected to his first term, he played the role of mediator in a Cranston bill that created new U.S. Forest Service wilderness. Wilson listened to opponents of that bill, reduced its scope and signed on as its co-sponsor before it passed.

Cranston's latest bill is stalled in a Senate subcommittee for public lands, national parks and forests. Before it can be considered by the full committee, it is customary for both senators from the state it affects to express their positions and resolve their differences. Environmentalists say compromising with opponents is unlikely to begin before Wilson takes a stand.

"He is really not in a position to delay his involvement in this issue until after the election," said Jim Burroughs, a Wilson legislative aide assigned to the bill. "That wouldn't sit very well with voters. They would see through that quickly. He has to make some hard

Continued on next page

Bob Pratt is a reporter for the Press Enterprise *in Riverside.*

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California Desert Protection Act

Sen. Alan Cranston's proposed SB7 would:

•Establish Mojave National Park, covering 1.5 million acres of desert between Barstow and Needles.

•Expand the boundaries of Death Valley and Joshua Tree national monuments and change their status from monument to national park, which means the parkland is approved by Congress rather than the president. While the new designation would not necessarily mean changes, it would improve the perception of the areas by the public and government officials, which could lead to an increase in visitors and funding. The legislation would increase Death Valley from 2.1 million acres to 3.4 million acres and Joshua Tree from 550,000 to 805,000 acres.

•Create 82 wilderness areas covering 4.3 million acres.

•Enable federal land to be traded for 490 acres of Indian-owned land at the base of Andreas Canyon outside of Palm Springs. The land, now owned by individual Indians, would be given to the Agua Caliente band of Cahulla Indians for a park instead of the country club that now is proposed to be built on the property.

•Transfer 20,500 acres of federal land to Red Rock Canyon State Park.

•Create the 1,920-acre Desert Lily Sanctuary.

Proponents of the bill say:

•The bill would transfer 3.2 million acres of desert now under the jurisdiction of the BLM to the more preservation-minded National Park Service and require the BLM to manage another 4.3 million acres as wilderness areas.

•No currently maintained dirt roads would be closed in the desert and 15,000 miles of unmaintained dirt roads and routes would be available for travel outside the wilderness areas. The BLM's 500,000 acres of designated off-road vehicle areas would remain open.

•Grazing rights would continue in the designated wilderness areas and grazing in the national parks would continue until the leases expire.

•Active mining claims would be allowed to continue.

•Tourism jobs would be created in towns near national parks.

Opponents argue that the bill:

•Is a move by the Sierra Club to circumvent the BLM's Desert Conservation Plan, which involved public hearings and compromises among various groups using the desert, and designates too much of the desert as wilderness without compromising with other groups which use the area.

•Removes vast stretches of the desert from mineral exploration in an area that may prove to hold valuable resources in the future.

•Contrary to Sierra Club statements, would close off-road vehicle routes that do not harm the environment.

•Would hurt the way of life of ranchers, which would set a bad precedent for cattlemen in other parts of the state.

•Would make it difficult for rock collectors to reach popular collecting sites because vehicles are prohibited in the wilderness.

choices and establish his position. He is going to be criticized on both sides, but it's better than to postpone. He's concluded the voters won't stand for that."

Cranston first introduced the bill in 1986 after the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society complained about what the groups considered too little wilderness proposed in the BLM's California Desert Plan.

In 1976 the BLM received a mandate from a bill co-sponsored by Cranston to draft a plan to manage federal lands in California's 25 million acres of desert, half of which is under BLM jurisdiction. After four years of hearings and after spending $8 million, the BLM designated 500,000 acres for special off-road vehicle areas, 5.5 million acres to study for potential wilderness designation and the rest for such uses as livestock grazing, mining and utility right-of-ways.

The BLM, which is waiting for geological reports before submitting its plan to Congress, recommends that about 2 million acres of its own managed desert become new wilderness, leaving about 10 million acres of federal desert for other uses.

The Sierra Club argues that about 5.5 million more acres should qualify as wilderness. Using maps supplied by the Sierra Club, Cranston aide Kathy Lacey drafted Senate Bill 7.

The bill would create 82 new wilderness areas covering 4.3 million acres, expand the boundaries of Death Valley and Joshua Tree national monuments and make them national parks. It would create Mojave National Park on 1.5 million acres between Barstow and Needles and enable 490 acres of federal land to be traded for Indian-owned land near Palm Springs, where environmentalists would like to see a park instead of a proposed country club.

To promote his bill, Cranston took trips to the desert last winter, last spring and over Thanksgiving with journalists and environmentalists. Hollywood celebrities Morgan Fairchild and Shelly Duvall, who support the bill, were with the Cranston entourage in Death Valley last winter.

The Committee for California Desert National Parks, a group headed by the senator's lawyer-son Kim Cranston, is planning another trip with journalists to the desert next spring, hoping the tour will coincide with the bill's consideration by the Senate.

The Sierra Club considers the bill one of the six most important pieces of legislation its lobbyists are pushing in Congress, according to Jim Dodson,

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Photo by Bob Pratte, Riverside Press-Enterprise

U. S. Senator Alan Cranston, in dark hat at center, leads a group visiting Joshua Tree National Monument on an inspection tour last fall.

state conservation chairman for the Sierra Club in California. The group is holding slide-show presentations throughout the state and urging people to write letters in support of the bill. Wilson, of course, is prominent on their mailing list.

The Sierra Club also has assigned a staff member to work full time on the bill in California. Dodson said the bill's comprehensive, regional approach could initiate similar Sierra Club-backed bills in New Mexico, Arizona and Utah if Senate Bill 7 is successful for California.

Opponents also are busy. The California Mining Association has started the Desert Conservation Institute, which operates booths at county fairs and mails out a newsletter that touts the BLM plan and recommends ways to oppose the Cranston bill, including sending copies of all protest letters to Wilson. Off-road vehicle groups have mounted letter-writing campaigns. Opponents of the bill demonstrated on Thanksgiving weekend during a stop of a Cranston tour of the Mojave Desert.

A major foe has been the Bureau of Land Management and its California director Ed Hastey. The bill was a major topic at roundtable discussions Hastey has held throughout the state. Hastey has met with newspaper editorial writers and testified against the bill last July before the Senate subcommitee.

"I think it's probably a matter of turf, a matter of jurisdiction," Cranston said of the BLM's objections. "They have jurisdiction over a significant amount of the desert which we would transfer to the National Park Service. An additional reason is that they are more pro-development, whereas I and the National Park Service are more prone to development and conservation."

Wilson

Dodson, the Sierra Club official, said Hastey's efforts are a waste of taxpayers' money. "Ed Hastey has made this a personal crusade," he said.

Hastey said he is answering questions about the bill, not going out of his way to campaign against it.

"I don't know if I would call it a personal crusade," Hastey said. "I think I am concerned we have spent a tremendous amount of time and effort (on the BLM's Desert Conservation Plan). This was done with professional biologists and planners. Why I react is because it ignores all this. They don't talk to the professionals. They have a lot of amateurs running around developing a whole new plan. It's a slap in the face of wildlife biologists and archeologists who have devoted 20 or 30 years to their job. They were completely ignored."

Hastey said he favors wilderness areas, but considers Cranston's bill an extreme proposal presented by the Sierra Club to circumvent compromises in the BLM's plan. He argues that the BLM's multi-use philosophy is fair to the variety of groups that use the desert.

"We have the skills to allow development and protect the wilderness," he

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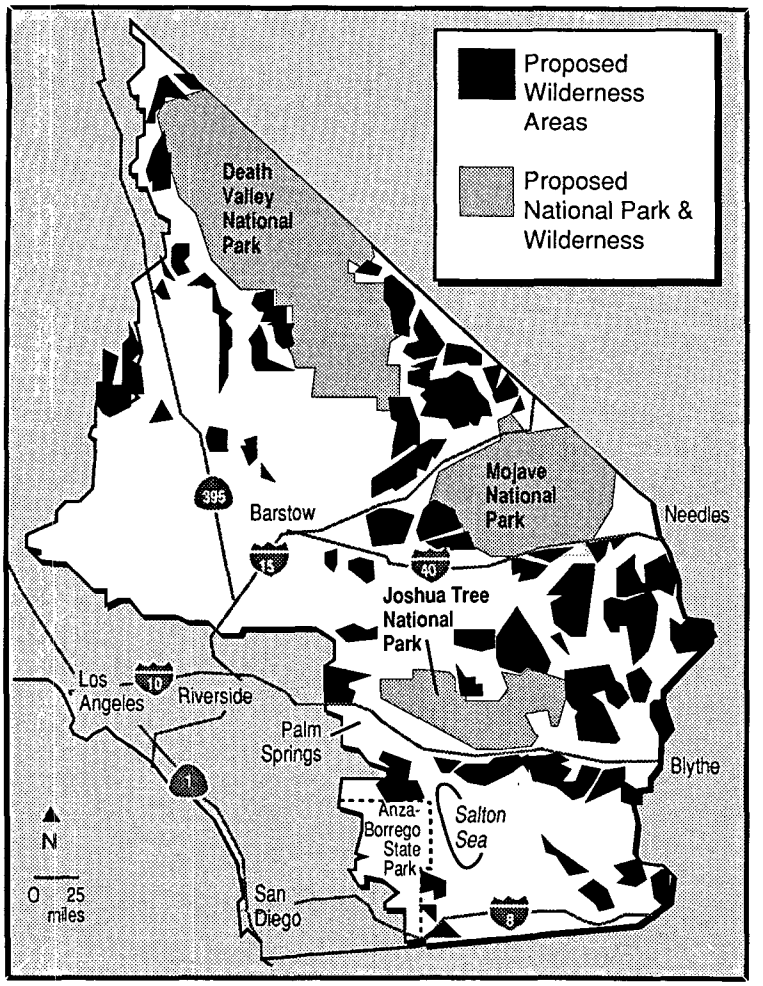
The desert wilderness proposal



Map courtesy *Riverside Press-Enterprise*

said. "We are more pro-development than the Park Service, but to say we are not sensitive to the environment, he (Cranston) is wrong. Our shortfall is the lack of resources in terms of having a presence. Additional rangers is the better alternative."

The BLM has just 20 rangers to patrol 12 million acres of federal land, four less than the 24 rangers the National Park Service has budgeted for 550,000-acre Joshua Tree National Monument.

Republican Congressman Jerry Lewis of Redlands has introduced an appropriations bill that would, if approved, add 20 new BLM ranger positions in the desert in 1988. The BLM already has started interviewing applicants for the jobs.

Lewis, whose district includes the desert of San Bernardino County, testified against Cranston's bill during last July's Senate subcommittee hearings. So did his Republican colleague, Alfred McCandless of La Quinta, whose district includes the Riverside County desert.

Donald Hodel, secretary of the Department of Interior, has spoken against the bill. The Department of Defense opposes the bill. Military officials fear that the wilderness designations will hurt their ability to conduct airborne maneuvers from military training facilities in the California desert.

Still, Wilson, the man who has not voiced an opinion, remains a key figure in the life of Senate Bill 7. He plans to meet in California with groups interested in the bill during December and January and then form his long-awaited opinion.

Environmentalists say that's when haggling over provisions in the bill will begin.

Kathy Lacey, the Cranston staff aide working with the bill, said that Cranston plans to proceed with or without Wilson's involvement. She said Cranston does not have to make the major changes that came before the passage of the 1984 forest wilderness bill because Democrats now are in the majority in the Senate.

If unsuccessful this year, Cranston said during a nighttime, campground conversation last summer in Joshua Tree National Monument, he plans to continue pushing for desert wilderness.

"When you preserve some part of the wilderness of the desert, that can be forever," he said. "It can be the most long-lasting accomplishment of anything you do in the Senate. It takes a while to do something this big. It took John Muir 10, 20 years to get Yosemite."

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BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,145 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure. Regardless of the date shown, signatures should be submitted by April 20, 1988, for any measure to qualify for the November 1988 ballot.*

New in circulation:

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Joseph Viducich of Beverly Hills, that would change the hours during which alcoholic beverages cannot be sold. Current law prohibits the sale between two and six in the morning. This measure would prohibit the sale between four and eight in the morning. (April 18, 1988)
AIDS TESTING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Los Angeles County Sheriff Sherman Block, would require testing for AIDS in criminal and juvenile cases, upon a finding of probable cause to believe bodily fluids were transferred. (April 18, 1988)
HOUSING AND NUTRITIONAL ASSISTANCE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Board of Equalization Chairman Conway Collis, that would create a public corporation to disburse funds to counties, other local jurisdictions and to qualified organizations to provide emergency and temporary services for hungry and homeless persons. Funding would come from new fines levied for violating existing laws and regulations governing housing and food preparation, and by bonds secured by the revenue from these fines. (April 21, 1988)

Continuing in circulation:

LEGISLATIVE OFFICES AND CAMPAIGN FUNDS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Paul McCauley of Los Angeles and Don Floyd of San Diego. (December 14, 1987; September 1987 *CJ*)
LAW ENFORCEMENT FUNDING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Secretary of State March Fong Eu. This is the so-called "Dimes against Crime" initiative. (December 18, 1987; September 1987 *CJ*)
PROPOSITIONS. YEAR ROUND VOTING. PROXY VOTING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Matt Dillon of Sacramento. (December 21, 1987; September 1987 *CJ*)
INCOME TAX — an initiative statute, sponsored by Paul McCauley of Los Angeles. (December 21, 1987; September 1987 *CJ*)
TRANSPORTATION REVENUE — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Republican Assemblywoman Doris Allen of Cypress. (January 7, 1988; September 1987 *CJ*)
CAMPAIGN FUNDING — an initiative statute, sponsored by independent state Senator Quentin Kopp of San Francisco, Democratic state Senator Joseph Montoya of Whittier and Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Fullerton, (January 8, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)
TORT CLAIMS, LIMITS ON ATTORNEY FEES — an initiative statute sponsored by Gene Livingston of Davis and former Deukmejian cabinet official Kirk West of Sacramento. Proponents say they are not pushing this initiative. (January 11, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)
STATE INCOME TAX REBATE — an initiative statute, sponosred by Republican Assemblymen Tom McClintock of Newbury Park and Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia and Republican state Senator Don Rogers of Bakersfield. (January 15, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)
STATE AND LOCAL APPROPRIATIONS LIMIT ADJUSTMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by a coalition of the League of Women Voters, California Teachers Association and Peace Officers Research Association of California. (January 21, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)
APPROPRIATIONS LIMIT ADJUSTMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, also sponsored by a coalition of the League of Women Voters, California Teachers Association and Peace Officers Research Association of California. (January 21, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)
CAMPAIGN FINANCING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Republican Congressman William Thomas of Bakersfield and former Fair Political Practices Commission Chairman Dan Stanford of Solana Beach. (January 29, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)
APPROPRIATION LIMIT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Paul Gann of Charmichael. (February 1, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)
LIMITS ON TORT CLAIMS AND ATTORNEY FEES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Gene Livingston and former Deukmejian cabinet official Kirk West of Sacramento. The same sponsors have another, similar measure in circulation but say they are not gathering signatures. (February 16, 1988; November 1987 *CJ*)
DISABILITY BENEFITS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Kevin McCarthy of Santa Rosa. (March 7, 1988; December 1987 *CJ*)
INSURANCE REGULATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Adam Burton of Los Angeles. (March 7, 1988; December 1987 *CJ*)
BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE POLICY — an initiative statute, sponsored by Russell Oertel of Claremont. (March 21, 1988; December 1987 *CJ*)
REAPPORTIONMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican Congressman William Dannemeyer of Fullerton. (March 28, 1988; December 1987 *CJ*)
NUCLEAR POWER — an initiative statute, sponsored by Ben Davis Jr. of Broderick. (March 28, 1988; December 1987 *CJ*)

Petitions submitted:

WILDLIFE, COASTAL, AND PARK LAND CONSERVATION BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Californians for Parks & Wildlife. (November 19, 1987; August 1987 *CJ*)

Qualified for June 1988 ballot:

AIDS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Brian Lantz and Khushro Ghandi of Livermore, that will, if adopted, declare AIDS an infectious, contagious amd communicable disease. It will require Department of Health Services personnel and all health officers to fulfill duties and obligations outlined in specific statutes and regulations to protect the public. This proposal is sponsored by proponents of, and is similar to, Proposition 64, which was defeated during the November 1986 election.
CAMPAIGN FUNDING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Walter Gerken and by California Common Cause, that will, if approved by voters, set limits on contributions and loans that could be made or accepted for legislative offices and establish a Campaign Reform Fund to which taxpayers could designate up to $3 annually from income taxes paid. Some matching funds could be made from this Fund to qualified candidates.

Failed to qualify:

OCEAN NET FISHING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Kenneth Kukuda of Santa Ana, that would have banned the use or operation of a long line, gill net, trammel net, or any other entangling net in ocean waters within three nautical miles of the California coast.

Source: secretary of state's office

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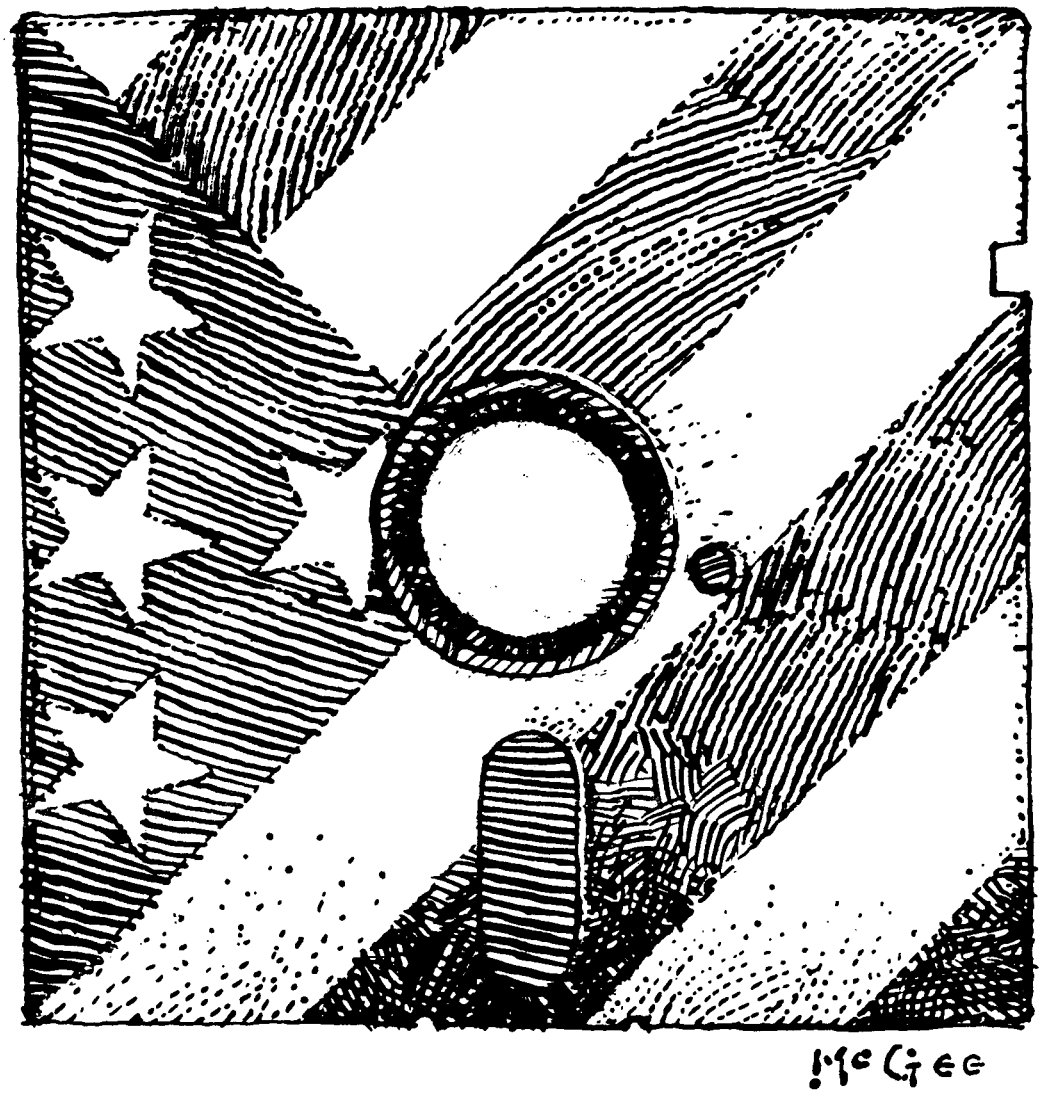

CAMPAIGNS GO HIGH-TECH

Software for the hard sell

By Faith Alchorn

Television, and the ability to craft a candidate's image through 15-and 30-second television commercials, helped rush political campaigning into the electronic age. Still, the campaigns themselves remained intensely human, requiring hundreds of volunteers contributing thousands of hours of work.

But as election tactics became more and more sophisticated and campaign laws more complex, only the largest and best-financed campaigns could bring enough volunteers on board or afford the cost of enough paid workers to keep track of polls, voter preferences, contributors, expenses, ad infinitum. Also, the larger the campaign, the more unwieldy its operations. More and more time was spent managing the details at the expense of intangible human contact with voters.

Enter, the personal computer.

Personal computers — those ubiquitous little boxes crammed with microchips, wires and a touch of black magic — are revolutionizing every facet of life, allowing fewer people to accomplish more work. Word-processing programs make editing faster; accounting programs turn even the sloppiest mathematician into a near-competent CPA; database programs store, sort and regurgitate a zillion bits of information.

Given the wide-spread use of computer technology, it was inevitable that high-tech would eventually seep into the political arena. As a result, an inexpensive personal computer, and its attendant software, has given even the smallest campaign management tools that were once too costly.

Computer software, designed specifically for campaign management, has put personal computers to work on many jobs that would otherwise be done by hand or by paying oodles of campaign bucks for a few hours of time on someone else's huge mainframe computer. A number of software packages on the market perform a variety of functions and make it possible to tailor a system to the needs of a particular campaign.

Say, the campaign that recently elected Art Agnos as mayor of San Francisco. Agnos, a former Democratic as-

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Faith Alchorn is a California Journal *intern.*

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semblyman, began the race as a decided underdog to Supervisor John Molinari. But Agnos eventually won a landslide victory and credits a large part of the victory to the use of campaign software.

"This was a difficult campaign," Agnos wrote the software manufacturer. "Our strategy was to contact thousands of voters, coordinate the activities of hundreds of volunteers and track all of the fund-raising solicitations, all on time and accurately. Software made it possible for us to meet our objective and timetable promptly and economically."

According to C.J. Maupin, Agnos' deputy campaign manager, the staff at first tried to use a standard database, but "the program got overloaded." The staff then contacted a company that had created software specifically designed to run a campaign.

"We had over 20,000 names of volunteers, contributors, people who had (Agnos) signs on their houses," said Maupin. "The software allowed us to sort them by name, address, zip code, precinct number, neighborhood. The program was able to identify who had house signs, who was a precinct captain, an area coordinator. It helped identify donors and gave the amount of their donations."

The possibilities for identifying voters and volunteers were endless, added Maupin. For example, the campaign could ask the computer to print a list of every donor from a particular neighborhood who donated more than $100 and also put an Agnos sign on his or her front lawn.

"(The software) allowed us to manage human resources," said Maupin. "It allowed us to be very precise when assigning people to do things for the campaign, and with our recruiting volunteers for the campaign."

The program, which cost around $2000, also served as a huge secretary. For example, it could record the names and addresses of people who may have attended a meeting on Agnos' behalf. The meeting itself was then assigned a code number. Later, the program would generate thank-you letters to those who attended the meeting, writing separate letters to those who gave money or took signs or literature to pass out to neighbors.

None of this activity is new to campaigning, of course. Campaigns have always generated lists of this and that. But as Maupin explains, in the past that "list" may have consisted of 20,000 index cards. To find out who donated $100 and took a sign would have taken forever. The software, she says, could sort it out in 20 minutes. It can pull up a single name in a tenth of a second.

Not that the program worked perfectly the first time out. Maupin says there were "bugs" that the manufacturer had to work out during the campaign.

According to the programmer, Agnos' was the first major campaign to use his package, and problems always occur whenever a new software debuts in the real world. For example, the Agnos' software was originally designed to handle up to 10,000 individual contributors and had to be expanded to accomodate nearly twice that number.

Agnos also plans to use the same software for constituent purposes and polling now that he's been elected. According to the programmer, the software will handle a five-question poll and sort the results by name, zip code, neighborhood, special interest, ad infinitum.

What the software does is increase a campaign's efficiency. It allows volunteers, who would otherwise be processing information manually, to press the flesh and promote their candidate among the public. Even though the mechanics of running a campaign may become increasingly technological, the fundamental importance of person-to-person con-

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Software companies

Below is a list of Campaign-management software companies and a brief description of each package, including support services offered by each.

Aristotle Industries — 205 Pennsylvania Ave. S.E., Washington, DC 20003; (800) 243-4401.

Software: *Campaign Manager, Campaign Manager Plus* and *Get Out the Vote*

Scheduling, direct-mail fund raising, budgeting, polling, media buy, targeting, data filing, funds reporting, opposition research, telephone helpline.

Below, Tobe and Associates — 7801 Norfolk Ave., suite 102, Bethesda, MD 20814; (301) 656-4966. Democrats and liberals only.

Software: *Political Campaign Software for Micros*

Donor transactions, accounting and FEC reporting, list maintenance, communications, mailings, scheduling.

Blackbaud Microsystems — 160 East Main St., Huntington, NY 11743; (516) 385-1420.

Software: *The Raiser's Edge*

Donor file management, gift file management, event tracking, sort/selection facility, labels and roladex cards, bulk mailing, reporting, receipts, maintenance service, hotline and on-line diagnosis of problems.

The Brady Group — 300 N. Washington St., Suite 406, Alexandria, VA 22314; (703) 684-5633. Republicans only.

Software: *Hannibal, Hannibal Plus*

Voter management, financial management, FEC reporting, volunteer management, demographic targeting, voter list conversion.

Grass Roots Software — 5601 Seminary Rd., Suite 1111-N, Falls Church, VA 22041; (703) 560-9205. Democrats only.

Software: *Election Machine, Election Machine Junior* and *Opposition Research*

Pledge tracking, thank you/reminder letters, targeting, precinct comparison, financial reporting, scheduling, custom software modification, support services, free system updates, no charge for program copying within campaign.

JP Marketing — 160 Spear St., Suite 1210, San Francisco, CA 94105; (415) 243-9727.

Software: *Campaign Coordinator*

Contribution, funds and volunteer management, financial reporting, registered voter database, call list generation, word processing, MailMerge, support services.

Real Good Software — 4827 Rugby Ave., Suite 310, Bethesda MD 20814; (800) 227-3117.

Software: *DB Donor*

Pledge tracking, bill and reminder letters, contribution history, personal letters, mailing labels, response tracking, auto-dialing, financial reporting, training sessions, free hotline, custom software modification, money back guarantee.

SD Associates — 1021-418 Asylum Ave., Hartford, CT 06105; (203) 278-3434.

Software: *Politech*

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Business Research and Surveys — 50 Greenwood Avenue, West Orange, NJ 07052; (201) 731-7800.

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tact with the voter remains.

There are many resources offered by campaign software. For example, some packages manage fund-raising efforts, tracking donations, compiling Fair Political Practices Commission and Federal Elections Commission reports, and generating thank you letters. Other systems sort voter information, target areas that need more attention from precinct walkers, generate press releases, and compile information on volunteers and paid staff. Different manufacturers offer variations of these packages (see box above) at prices ranging from $500 and up.

But potential campaign managers should beware. Not all software companies will sell to every campaign. Some sell only to Republicans; others only to Democrats (see box). Some companies may not sell to opposite sides of the same campaign, no wishing their software to go head-to-head.

For many smaller campaigns, all management tasks can be performed using personal computers and the chosen software alone, which is a boon, since a volunteer often will donate a computer to the campaign. Thus, the only immediate investment is the purchase of the software package itself. Some companies that manufacture software also offer to loan computer hardware to campaigns as well. Another plus, especially for small campaigns who may or may not have a computer expert on staff, is that many of the companies provide telephone hotlines for getting the system on-line and for working out bugs. These services may carry a slight charge or can be provided free, depending on the company.

Large campaigns, requiring a computer system able to handle a greater volume of data, can use personal computers at the campaign headquarters and tie into a mainframe system provided by another information management service, as the Agnos campaign did for its final, get-out-the-vote push on election day. The Agnos staff also tapped into a mainframe to eliminate duplications, for noting individual voter requests, and for Fair Political Practices Commission reporting. This was merely for hardware with a larger "brain;" the software was the same.

Resources currently available to a campaign through the application of new and changing computer software will undoubtedly change the way campaigns are run. A few days after Agnos' victory in San Francisco, his software package was being demonstrated throughout Sacramento. With a major campaign season just down the calendar, these demonstrations will become increasingly important to campaign managers and their candidates.

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It all seems so unfair. Every presidential candidate seems to be treating California like some big money tree. They shake it for all they can, then take the money and run — to Iowa or New Hampshire or Dixie. Thus, unless you're a big contributor, you probably will have little or nothing to say about who wins the major party nominations. The sad fact is, once again, California's June 7th primary probably comes too late to make much difference — despite the fact this state has more to offer in sheer delegate numbers than any other state.

The Republicans, who control the executive branch in Sacramento, know this. The Democrats, who hold legislative power, know this. And most of all, the candidates and their handlers know this — and that's why, once again, California voters can only sit on the sidelines and watch the battle for delegate votes being waged in small and politically insignificant states.

So, why doesn't somebody do something about it?

Richard Bergholz is a freelance writer from Los Angeles.

Election officials say it would cost from $25 to $30 million to stage a presidential primary earlier than the state's regular primary election. And Republican Governor George Deukmejian won't spend the money, while his Democratic foes find it politically unwise, in this age of tight fiscal restraints, to ask taxpayers to pay the tab.

One usually savvy Democratic politician also adds another dimension: "Look, we have a much harder time turning out our (Democratic) voters than do the Republicans. If we didn't have the pull of the presidential primary every four years, we might have a terrible time getting anyone to vote."

Republican State Chairman Robert Naylor and his Democratic counterpart, Peter Kelly, both say they wish a way could be found to change the governor's mind on the need for an earlier presidential primary, or somehow circumvent his intransigence, but neither is doing anything about it.

California will send 336 delegates — plus an as-yet undetermined number of congressmen — to the Democratic nominating convention in Atlanta; and 175 to the GOP conclave in New Orleans. How those delegates are chosen and how they line up in their choices for the nomination is what the presidential primary is supposed to be about.

But, once again, California appears destined to miss the boat. Referring to the June 7th presidential primary, Democrat Kelly said, "This could wind up to be the biggest non-event of all time." And Naylor expressed frustration that party rules and state election laws may keep Californians from having much to say — in time to make any difference.

Too bad. This primary was shaping up as one where California finally could exert some muscle. For the first time since 1968, the presidential sweepstakes is an incumbentless race. And for the first time since 1964, no Republican contender from California dominates the scene. Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan have overshadowed state GOP presidential primaries for all these years, so much so that outsiders

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OUT IN THE COLD —AGAIN

Late primary reduces state influence in presidential politics

By Richard Bergholz

were discouraged from offering a challenge in California.

There is a unique feature to the state's Republican primary. California is the only state in the nation which offers a wide-open, winner-take-all contest: The candidate who gets the most primary votes wins all the delegates. Democrats abolished such rules over a decade ago, but Republicans have permitted the practice to continue, mainly in deference to Reagan. And even though Reagan is no longer running, the Republican National Committee seems reluctant to deal with the obvious inequities of the winner-take-all system.

In 1980 backers of Texan John Connally tried to get an initiative on the ballot to replace winner-take-all with a form of proportional representation — a candidate gets delegates in proportion to the votes cast for him or her in the California presidential primary. Public-opinion polls seemed to indicate the state's Republican voters favored such a move, but the initiative ran out of time — and steam — and failed to qualify.

Has the winner-take-all primary here really made any difference in recent elections?

In 1976 then-President Gerald R. Ford challenged Reagan in the California primary and got whipped. Reagan got all the delegates, the biggest block at the Kansas City convention. But Ford won a first-ballot nomination.

Reagan used a so-called "favorite son" designation to win in 1968 but then turned into a for-real candidate to pose a challenge to Nixon at the Miami Beach convention, only to fall short. But the block of California delegates was Reagan's base.

About the last time the California primary meant anything in the Republican race was in 1964, when Barry Goldwater and Nelson Rockefeller battled it out. It was a classic confrontation between the surging conservative wing of the party against the Eastern establishment wing. Goldwater's victory here set the stage for his smashing win at the San Francisco nominating convention.

Democrats, too, clung to the winner-take-all system until after the 1972 California presidential primary, when George McGovern nosed out Hubert Humphrey in a furious last-ditch fight for California's delegates. At the Miami Beach convention, Humphrey challenged the right of the McGovern delegates to be seated because they were chosen in a non-proportional primary. Humphrey lost, but the national Democratic Party later decided it was time to ban future winner-take-all primaries.

Since then, Democrats in California, using proportional representation, have shown an amazing propensity for going against the tide. In 1976 then-Governor Jerry Brown beat Jimmy Carter, although Brown got into the presidential race so late he had virtually no chance of getting the party's nomination and Carter was a shoo-in by election time.

In 1980 Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts beat a sitting President — Carter — in the California primary even when it was clear Carter had the nomination locked up. And in 1984, when it was clear Walter Mondale had the Democratic nomination well in

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hand by California's primary day, voters made Gary Hart the winner.

A lot of the reasons why California has appeared to be out-of-step with the rest of the nation, at least on the Democratic side, is that the primary comes so late, but the business of qualifying for the primary ballot comes so early. Presidential candidates have to spend so much of their time and money just getting through the early primaries in small states that they have little or nothing left for the California event at the end.

By the time California votes on June 7th, every state in the nation will have picked its delegates and cast its lot with the candidates except for Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico and North Dakota. There is every likelihood that the race will be over by June 7th. If for any reason it isn't, it's very hard for any candidate to budget enough money and effort to make a last-minute pitch to win California's delegates.

If either Vice President George Bush or Kansas Senator Bob Dole is the clear front-runner going into the latter stages of the GOP race, a winner-take-all prize from California's June 7th balloting would be well worth the gamble of a full-fledged campaign here. But for a contender struggling to stay alive, the prospect of a terribly expensive California effort after the costly efforts earlier might be just more than he could handle, particularly if he got absolutely nothing for his efforts if he fell one vote short.

On the Democratic side, the options are substantially more attractive. Because you get delegates, you have something to win — even if you don't poll more votes than the next fellow. You still have to meet a 15 percent threshhold, which means you have to get at least 15 percent of the votes cast in a congressional district, or statewide, to win some delegates, but that's not impossible in a field of several candidates.

Unfortunately, it takes some work for a presidential candidate to set up his delegates for the California primary; and there isn't much time in which to do it.

By February 1st Secretary of State March Fong Eu is required to list all the presidential candidates for the California primary. Her criteria: those who are publicly perceived as candidates and those who have qualified as candidates to receive federal matching campaign money.

Naylor

Kelley

Democratic presidential candidates have only two days to tell her they don't want to be on the June 7th ballot. Republican candidates have until April 4th to withdraw. The picture will be a lot clearer on April 4th than on February 3rd. But there's no real harm if a candidate leaves his name on the ballot and later decides not to campaign in California.

But for those Democrats who want to battle for a slice of California's 336 delegates, it takes some doing. The national party has decided that presidential candidates must organize a slate of delegates in each of the 45 congressional districts, working from a list supplied by the state party organization evolved

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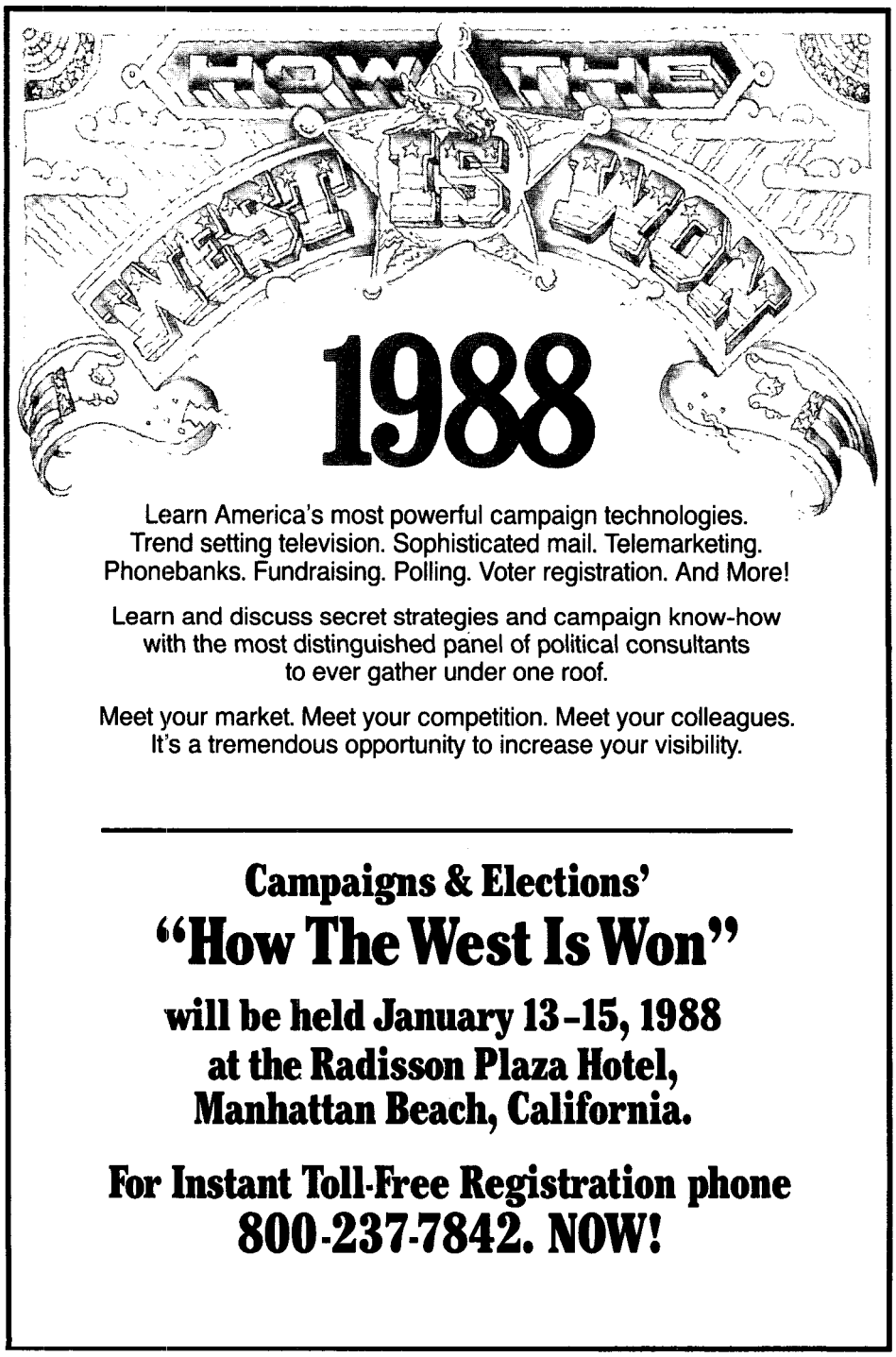
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On May 1st caucuses in each of the 45 districts will be held. The prospective delegates will be divided by the candidacy to which they are pledged. Each group of pledged delegates will then select the required number — ranging from three to nine per district, depending on relative past patterns of pro-Democratic voting. So if you really want to go to the Atlanta convention as a delegate, the system puts a premium on your ability to turn out your friends and neighbors for that crucial May 1st caucus.

On the Republican side, it's simpler. The presidential candidates select three delegates per congressional district, and 40 at-large from across the state. Unlike the Democrats, who have fairly strict requirements for male-female representation and special attention given to Blacks, Asians, Latinos, seniors, gays and lesbians, Republicans have no hard-and-fast rules. They generally try to balance the number of male and female delegates, with some attention given to minorities.

Democrats are trying to make one significant change from 1984, however: Only the names of the qualified presidential candidates will appear on the Democratic ballot. In 1984 Democratic voters found, to their horror, that the presidential primary ballot was crowded with the names of those running for convention delegates who were pledged to support one of the presidential hopefuls. Thus, sports and entertainment figures, readily recognized by the voters, often did better than rank-and-file political activists. Almost all of the Democratic leaders say they don't want to go on with the 1984 system with all those confusing names on the ballot. But some aren't sure the new proposal, laid down by the Democratic National Committee, is all that great.

State Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti of Los Angeles, for instance, questions whether the goal of truly proportional representation among the 336 California delegates can be achieved on a district-by-district selection process. In 1984 Gary Hart got 204 delegates and Walter Mondale got only 73, but the statewide vote was amazingly close — 39.6 percent to 35.5 percent. Roberti and others question whether the new rules adequately address the problem of back-door winner-take-all allocations under the new proposals.

Continued on next page

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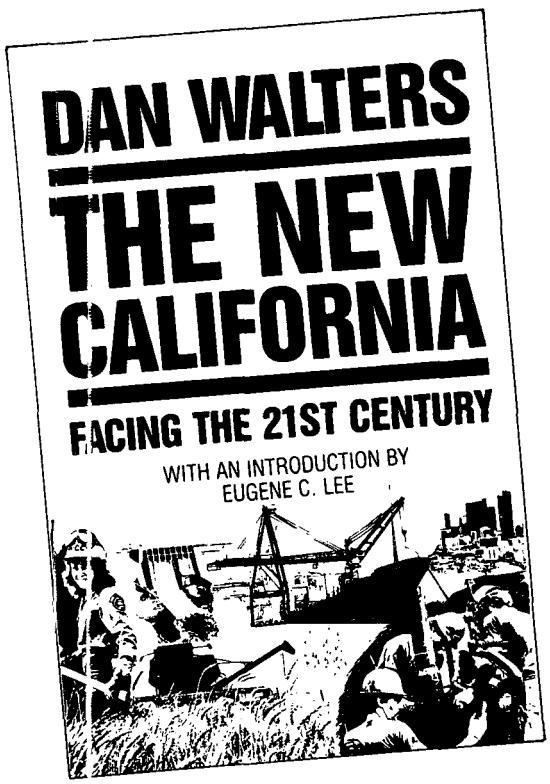

The New California — Facing the 21st Century

by Dan Walters

with an introduction by Eugene C. Lee

The *Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, recently completed a 9000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which resulted in a 15-part series in the *Bee*. The articles describe the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. This lively and insightful series will be available in book form June 15th. The 180-page book contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data. Price: $8.95.

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But Democratic Assemblyman Jim Costa of Fresno, who is carrying the conformity bill and has won lower house approval, says he thinks there is "better than a 50-50 chance" for approval, if for no other reason than that the 1984 experience was so distasteful.

Roberti says he and others aren't going to be pressured by the time constraints to accept the national party's decision. And if California chooses to stray from the reservation and send a non-conforming delegation to the national convention, "I'd like to see them just try to refuse to seat our delegation — I don't believe they would do it."

All of this is a bit too obscure and meaningless to the average California voter. The history books are full of examples of elections where the voters refused to vote when it was clear it didn't make much difference what they did. If by June 7th the public perception is that (a) the die already is cast or (b) brokering at the national conventions will decide the nominations, it may not be easy to get a representative turnout at the polls.

For instance, if the Reverend Jesse Jackson, favored by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, has a substantial block of delegates — not enough to win but enough to decide who does — the California primary may have an importance not yet understood.

And if Dole has pulled ahead of Bush in the earlier primaries but still doesn't have enough to win, what happens in California could be important, of course.

Those are just two scenarios being kicked around by party leaders as they try to sort out what to do about the late California primary.

There is talk, for example, that Deukmejian doesn't want to choose up sides in the primary, doesn't want to run as a "favorite son," but still wants a prominent position at the convention. So he tries to cut a deal with Bush, with Dole and possibly with Congressman Jack Kemp of New York under which Deukmejian would, in return for his pre-election neutrality, be named chairman of whatever delegation is chosen in the June 7th test. This would be accomplished by getting someone from the winning delegation to step down to make way for the governor.

Does this make any sense at all? Does the whole California presidential primary process defy logic?

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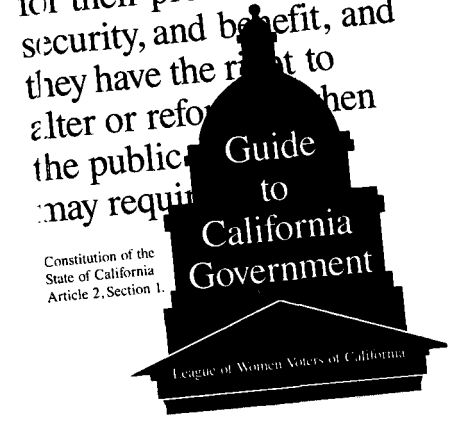

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

A falling out

The recent Reagan-Gorbachev summit will rate a chapter if this planet survives long enough to deserve a history of arms-control successes and failures. But the bitter pre-summit invective exchanged by President Reagan and some of his ex-supporters may merit a chapter in another book — this one a history of conservatives in America.

A FEW MONTHS AGO IN THIS SPACE, I ruminated on the increasingly strained relations between Reagan and some hard-line conservatives. They supported him from his first campaign for governor of California but now feel let down by how little he has delivered of their political agenda.

Nobody could have guessed then that this estrangement would turn to sheer hatred, as it did just before Reagan met with his Soviet counterpart. In the week before the summit, the president dutifully delivered some vintage Reagan hard-line rhetoric. The ghost-written remarks were clearly calculated to calm down jittery conservatives who felt he was about to give away the store to Comrade Mikhail, that Russian charmer.

But the prospect of an arms control agreement initialed "RR" was too dramatic to be papered over by a few hawkish speeches.

For his part, Reagan could not help showing his true feelings — about his old conservative friends and about his new Communist counterpart — when he sat down for a half hour on December 3rd with the anchormen from CBS, NBC, ABC and CNN.

Conservative critics of the treaty to ban intermediate and short-range nuclear weapons didn't know what they were talking about, Reagan said, none too politely: "The objections that we are hearing — and, yes, from some of our own, you might say, allies and own forces — they are based on a lack of knowledge as to what this treaty contains, and particularly are they ignorant of the advances that have been made in verification."

These same hard-liners are Dr. Strangeloves who assume we're going to go ballistic, sooner or later, the president added just as bluntly: "Some of the people who are objecting the most and refusing even to accede to the idea of ever getting any understanding, whether they realize it or not, these people basically down in their deepest thoughts have accepted that war is inevitable and that there must come to be a war between the two superpowers."

By contrast, Reagan expressed an almost sentimentally warm regard for Gorby in the same interview: "This is the first Soviet leader that has ever expressed a willingness to eliminate weapons they already have... We now have a leader who is apparently willing to say that he's prepared to live with other philosophies in other countries... Having been born and raised within the Soviet framework, I have felt that he sincerely believes in that philosophy... You must remember that there were other leaders under which this (invasion of Afghanistan) happened. He inherited that."

The truth be told, conservative leaders already had scheduled a press conference for the next morning to announce an "anti-appeasement" coalition. But Reagan's TV comments fed their fury and led to a final break between the hardest-line of the conservatives and the California Republican they had once lionized.

Conservative fund-raiser Richard Viguerie called the president an "apologist for Gorbachev." Howard Phillips, president of the Conservative Caucus, savaged Reagan as a "useful idiot for Soviet propaganda." Phillips cattily described Reagan as a weak man, surrounded by a strong staff and a strong wife pulling him toward politically expedient moderation.

As if to confirm this image of Queen Nancy pulling the puppet-strings, the conservative *Washington Times* published an excerpt the same day from the forthcoming book by former Reagan aide Michael Deaver. Deaver, who had long been the very exemplar of expediency in Reagan's inner circle, wrote of an earlier Reagan-Gorbachev meeting: "It was Nancy who pushed everybody on the Geneva summit. She felt strongly that it was not only in the interest of world peace but the correct move politically."

But Nancy isn't all that came between Ronald Reagan and his decades-long romance with the hard-core activists known as "movement conservatives."

First of all, it's one thing to be an anti-government activist crusading from outside or, for that matter, a governor fulminating about the Soviet threat from Sacramento. It's another to be president, responsible for keeping the country together — and guaranteeing its safety from nuclear holocaust.

SECOND, REAGAN HAD MADE CLEAR his intentions on arms control all along, even if some of his conservative troops dismissed his stated position as obligatory oratory for the masses. Reagan said he would seek a massive arms build-up not for its own sake, but to pressure the Soviets into talking seriously about arms reductions — and that, to the horror of conservatives, is exactly what he did. To him, an agreement with Gorbachev was vindication of a conservative "peace through strength" philosophy.

Finally, and perhaps most important, many unyielding conservatives are gloomy, angry people, nursing grudges against the forces of collectivism they see arrayed all around them. By contrast, their ex-hero Reagan is one of life's blithe optimists. It's not surprising that he yearned to exit the political stage with the triumph of a new era in U.S.-Soviet relations, a happy ending worthy of a Hollywood soundstage. This chipper attitude was captured a few days before the summit, when Reagan was asked about Gorbachev's popularity. "No, I don't resent his popularity or anything else," Reagan said. "Good Lord, I co-starred with Errol Flynn once."

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